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GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL SERIES

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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW)

BY

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Vol. II Part I

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PREFACE

It is a little over ten years since the first volume of my History of Dharmaśāstra was published. In the preface to that volume I expressed the hope that time and health permitting I might issue in a few years the second volume dealing with the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. For several years thereafter whatever leisure I could secure from professional work was devoted to the collection and orderly assortment of the vast Literature on Dharmaśāstra. After my return from a few months' visit to Europe in 1937 I commenced the work of writing the second volume. It soon became apparent to me that to compress within the limits of a single volume the development of the thousand and one topics that fall within the purview of Dharmaśāstra would present only a scrappy and faint outline of the whole field. To add to the difficulties of my task my old painful complaint (duodenal ulcer) recurred with far greater virulence than before, so much so that, partly on medical advice and partly out of despair, in October 1938 I gave up the work altogether. When relief did not come even after six months' total abstinence from literary labours I resumed, in spite of my extremely painful complaint, the work of writing, for fear that otherwise the extensive materials that I had been collecting for nearly two decades might be entirely lost to the world of Sanskrit scholars and that my labours might be altogether wasted. Being afraid that my strength and resolution may not last till the completion of the rather ambitious undertaking, I decided upon bringing out in two volumes the development of the various subjects comprised in Dharmaśāstra. The present volume contains the treatment of varṇa and āśrama, the saṁskāras, āhnika and ācāra, dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga, and śrauta (vedic) sacrifices. The next volume (the last) will deal with the following topics: vyavahāra (Law and procedure), āśauca (impurity on birth and death), śrāddha, prāyaścitta, tīrtha, vrata, kāla, śānti, the influence of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā and other śāstras on Dharmaśāstra, customs and usages modifying Dharmaśāstra, the philosophical background of Dharmaśāstra, and future developments in Dharmaśāstra. Looking to my past performance I am unwilling to make any promise about the time when the next volume may be

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expected to be published. I may state, however, that in view of the fact that at present I am in much better health than I have been for several years I shall try to publish it in three years more.

Excellent works dealing with distinct topics of Dharmaśāstra have been given to the world by eminent scholars. But so far as I know no writer has yet attempted single-handed to survey the whole field of Dharmaśāstra. From that point of view this volume partakes of the nature of a pioneer undertaking. It is therefore to be expected that such an ambitious project will manifest the defects of all pioneer work. The circumstances (adverted to above) in which this work had to be written and the great hurry with which it had to be rushed through are other factors that are responsible for the awkward or obscure expressions and the errors that it may contain. I mention these matters for lessening the surprise that such blemishes might lead my friends to feel and not for blunting the edge of adverse criticism. The critic is certainly entitled to mercilessly criticize the work for its shortcomings and mistakes. Some readers may complain that the present work is prolix, while others may say that the space devoted to several topics is meagre. I have tried to pursue a middle course.

There was great temptation throughout this work to compare ancient and medieval Indian customs, usages and beliefs as disclosed by dharmaśāstra works with those of other peoples and countries. But I have tried to omit, as far as possible, such comparisons. Whenever I indulge in them I do so for several reasons. It is the fashion among many writers, both European and Indian, to hold the caste system and the dharmaśāstra view of life responsible for most of the evils from which India suffers at present. To a very large extent I do not subscribe to that view. I have endeavoured to show that human nature being the same in essentials throughout the world, the same tendencies and evils manifest themselves in all countries, the same abuses prevail and the same perversions of originally beneficent institutions take place everywhere and anywhere, whether particular countries or societies are within the grip of the caste system or any other casteless system. Undoubtedly the caste system has in fact produced certain evils, but it is not singular in this respect. No system is perfect and immune from evil effects. Though I have been brought up in the midst of the Brahmanical system, I hope it will be conceded by scholars

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that I have shown both sides of the picture and that I have endeavoured to write with detachment.

A few words must be said about the extensive quotations from Sanskrit works and the references to modern Indian Legislation and case-law. For those who cannot read English (most *pandits* and *śāstris* do not) the quotations will be of great help in understanding at least the trend of the arguments. Besides Indian scholars are as a class poor and cannot afford to purchase numerous books. Nor are there many good libraries in India where all works of reference can be had. For all these reasons thousands of quotations have been cited in the footnotes. The quotations are mostly drawn from published works and references to mss. are few and far between. I hope that the numerous quotations will not intrude themselves on the attention of those who want to read only the English portion of the work. Legislative enactments and case-law have been referred to for showing that many regulations of dharmaśāstra are still very much alive, that they govern the every-day life of Hindus and permeate all classes of Hindu society in spite of the fact that a considerable part of dharmaśāstra has become obsolete. Similar remarks apply to the numerous references to inscriptions on stone and copper. These latter serve to prove that rules laid down in the dharmaśāstra were throughout two thousand years observed by the people and enforced by kings and that such rules were not mere precepts composed by dreamers or scholastic pedants.

I acknowledge with great pleasure that I am under deep obligations to many predecessors and workers in the same and other fields and to many friends. Among the works to which I had to refer constantly and from which I derived the greatest benefit I must specially refer to the following: Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, the Sacred Books of the East edited by Max Müller (vol. II, VII, XII, XIV, XXV, XXVI, XXIX, XXX, XXXIIII, XLI, XLIII, XLIV). As I was handicapped by the fact that I know little German and less French, I could not fully utilise all the work done by modern European scholars. I am highly obliged to Paramahaṁsa Kevalānanda Svāmī of Wai for constant help and guidance (particularly in the śrauta portion); to Chintāmaṇśāstri Datar of Poona for assistance in the chapter on darśapūrṇamāsa and for carefully going through the other chapters on śrauta; to Mr. Keshav Lakshman Ogale for his work on a

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portion of the Index; to Tarkatīrtha Raghunāthaśāstrī Kokje for reading through the whole work and suggesting additions and emendations.

Besides, assistance in various ways during the progress of the work for over three years was very kindly rendered by a host of friends, among whom I should like to make special mention of Prof. H. D. Velankar, Prof. Rangaswami Ayyangar Prof. P. P. S. Śāstrī, Dr. Alsdorf, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Mr. G. H. Khare, Mr. N. C. Bapat, Pandit Rangacharya Raddi, Mr. L. S. Dravid (a Sāmavedī of Poona), Pandit S. D. Satavlekar, Mr. P. K. Gode. Thanks are due to all these and other friends for their help and interest in this volume. I must state, however, that I alone am responsible for the views and mistakes contained in this work.

In a work containing thousands of quotations and references it is very likely that many slips have occurred. Besides it is very much to be regretted that several misprints have crept into the footnotes by the loss or displacement of dots and other loose parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing.

15th June 1941 P. V. KANE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOL. II

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	...	vii–x
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	...	xi–xii
SYNOPSIS	...	xiii–xxxiii
LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED	...	xxxiv–xlv
TABLE OF CASES CITED	...	xlvi–xlvii
HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA	...	1–1255
APPENDIX OF LONGER EXTRACTS IN SANSKRIT	...	1257–1278
GENERAL INDEX	...	1279–1358
INDEX OF IMPORTANT WORDS	...	1359–1866
ERRATA	...	1367–1368

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. I. R. = All India Reporter (edited by Mr. V. V. Chitaley of Nagpur).
Ait. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad Series.
Ānan. or Ānand. = Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona.
Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastamba-dharmasūtra.
Āp. gṛ. = Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra.
Āp. M. P. = Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha.
Āp. Śr. = Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra.
Āśv. gṛ. = Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.
Āśv. Śr. = Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra.
A. S. W. I. = Archaeological Survey of Western India Reports.
Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra.
Baud. gṛ. = Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.
Baud. śr. = Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra.
Bhār. gṛ. = Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra.
B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.
Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series.
Bom. H. C. R. = Bombay High Court Reports (vol. I–XII).
Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter (edited by Ratanlal and Dhirajlal).
B. O. R. I. = Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
Bṛ. Up. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta Series.
Chān. Up. or Ch. Up. = Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
C. I. I. = (Volumes of) Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal.
Com. = Commentator or Commentary (according to context).
Cr. ed. = Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes (Law Reports).
D. C. = Deccan College Collection of Sanskrit Mss.
Dh. S. = Dharmasūtra.
Die Frau = Die Frau im Brahmanismus by Dr. M. Winternitz (1920, Leipzig).

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E. C. = Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. I. = Epigraphia Indica.
E. R. E. = Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (edited by James Hastings).
F. n. = Footnote.
Fick = The Social organization in North-east India in Buddha's time (translated from German by Dr. Shishirkumara Maitra, 1920).
Gaut. = Dharmasūtra of Gautama.
Gṛ. R. = Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara.
G. S. = Gupta *saṁvat*.
H. A. S. L. = History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature by Prof. Max Müller (1859).
Hir. gṛ. = Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra.
I. A. = Indian Antiquary.
I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly.
I. L. R. = India Law Reports series.
Ins. = Inscription or inscriptions.
J. B. B. R. A. S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. B. O. R. S. = Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
Jiv. = Pandit Jivānanda's edition.
J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Kāṭhaka S. = Ḳāṭhaka Saṁhitā.
Kauṭ. = Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.
L. R. I. A. = Law Reports, Indian Appeals (decided by the Privy Council), the number of the volume being inserted between L. R. and I. A.
Mait. S. = Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā.
Mānava gṛ. = Mānava-gṛhyasūtra.
Mārk. or Mārkaṇḍeya = Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.
Mit. = The commentary Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya Smṛti.
Moo. I. A. = Moore's Indian Appeals.
n. = footnote.
Pāṇ. = Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.
P and M = Pollock and Maitland's History of English Law.
Pār. gṛ. = Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra.
Par. M. = Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
Pat. = Patañjali's Māhābhāṣya.

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Q. = Quoted.

Rel. and Phil. = Prof. Keith's 'Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads.'

Ṛg. = Ṛgveda.

Rit. Lit. = Hillebrandt's 'Ritual Litteratur Vedische Opfer und Zauber'.

Sam. K. = Saṁskāra-kaustubha of Anantadeva.

Sam. P. or Pr. = Saṁskāraprakāśa of Mitramiśra.

Sam. R. M. or S. R. M. } = Saṁskāra-ratna-mālā of Gopīnātha.

Śāṅ. gṛ. = Śāṅkhyāyana-gṛhya-sūtra.

Śat. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Prof. Max Müller).

Sch. C. O. = Scheduled castes Order of 1936.

Sm. C. = Smṛti-candrikā.

Sm. M. or Smṛ. M. = Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.

Śr. P. N. = Śrautapadārthanirvacana.

S. V. = Sāmaveda.

Tai. Ār. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.

Tai. Br. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.

Tai. S. or Saṁ. = Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

Tr. = Translation or translated (according to context).

Up. = Upaniṣad.

Vāj. S. = Vājasaneya Saṁhitā.

Vaik. or Vaikhānasa = Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra.

Vas. or Vas. Dh. S. = Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra.

Viṣṇu. Dh. S. = Viṣṇu-dharma-sūtra.

V. S. = Vedānta-sūtra.

Yāj. = Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

Yati. Dh. S. or Yati-dh. } = Yatidharma-saṁgraha.

Z. D. M. G. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesselschaft.

आप. गृ. सू. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र	ऋ. = ऋग्वेदसंहिता
आप. ध. सू. or आप. ध. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र	ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेयारण्यक
आप. म. पाठ = आपस्तम्बीयमन्त्रपाठ	ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण
आप. श्रौ. सू. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र	कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्
आश्व. गृ. सू. = आश्वलायनगृह्यसूत्र	कात्या. = कात्यायन
आश्व. श्रौ. = आश्वलायनश्रौतसूत्र	कात्या. श्रौ. = कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र

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कौषीतकि ब्रा.उ.=कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्
गृ. र. or गृह. र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर
गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र
छा. उ. = छान्दोग्योपनिषद्
जै. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
जै. उ. ब्रा. = जैमिनीयोपनिषद्ब्राह्मण
तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक
तै. उ. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्
तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण
तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता
परा. मा. = पराशरमाधवीय
पा. = पाणिनीयाष्टाध्यायी
पूर्वमी. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र
बृह. = बृहस्पतिस्मृति (as quoted in digests)
बृह. उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्
बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र
बौ. ध. or बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र
ब्रा. = ब्राह्मण
मनु = मनुस्मृति
मिता. = मिताक्षरा (याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीका)
मेधा. = मेधातिथि (मनुस्मृतिभाष्यकार)
मै. सं. or मैत्रा. सं. = मैत्रायणीसंहिता
मैत्री. उप. = मैत्र्युपनिषद्
यति. ध. सं. = यतिधर्मसंग्रह
या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति
वाज. सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता
वि. चि = विवादचिन्तामणि
विश्वरूप=याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतिटीका of विश्वरूप
वि. र. = विवादरत्नाकर
वै. स्मा. or वैखा. स्मा.=वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र
व्य. म. or व्यव. म. = व्यवहारमयूख
शतपथब्रा. = शतपथब्राह्मण
शां. गृ. = शांख्यायनगृह्य
शां. श्रौ. = शांख्यायनश्रौत
शूद्रकम. = शूद्रकमलाकर
सं. कौ. = संस्कारकौस्तुभ
सं. प्र. = संस्कारप्रकाश
सं. र. मा. = संस्काररत्नमाला
स्मृतिच. = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका
स्मृ. मु. or स्मृतिमु. = स्मृतिमुक्ताफल

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(of important works and authors referred to in this volume)

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and only tentative.

4000 B. C.-1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. It is possible that some hymns may go back to a period even earlier than 4000 B. C. and that some Upaniṣads (even out of those that are regarded as the principal and the earliest ones) are later than 1000 B. C.

800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The Nirukta.

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrauta sūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Śāṅkhyāyana, Lāṭyāyana, Drāhyāyaṇa, Satyāṣāḍha) and some of the gṛhya sūtras (Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba &c.).

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—The dharmasūtras of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha and the Gṛhya-sūtras of Pāraskara, Baudhāyana and some others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini.

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtra.

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

150 B. C. —Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

200 B. C.—200 A. D.—Manusmṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

100 A. D.—300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra.

100 A. D.—400 A. D.—Nāradasmṛti.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra.

200 A. D.—500 A. D.—Śabara, com. of Jaimini.

300 A. D.—500 A. D.—Bṛhaspatismṛti (not yet found).

300 A. D.—600 A. D.—Some of the extant purāṇas viz. Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma, Matsya.

400 A. D.—600 A. D.—Kātyāyanasmṛti (not yet found).

505 A. D.—587 A. D.—Varāha-mihira, author of Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

650 A. D.—750 A. D.—Tantravārtika of Kumārila.

788 A. D.—820 A. D.—Śaṁkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher.

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600 A. D.—900 A. D.—Most of the other smṛtis and some of the purāṇas.
800 A. D.—850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, com. of Yājñavalkya.
900 A. D. —Medhātithi, com. of Manu
1100 A. D. —Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara.
1100 A. D.–1150 A. D.—Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara.
1100 A. D.–1150 A. D.—Jīmūtavāhana.
1125 A. D. —Aparārka.
1150 A. D.–1200 A. D.—Smṛtyarthasāra.
1200 A. D.–1225 A. D.—Smṛticandrikā.
1150 A. D.–1300 A. D.—Haradatta.
1150 A. D.–1300 A. D.—Kullūka.
1260 A. D.–1270 A. D.—Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi.
1310 A. D.–1360 A. D.—Caṇḍeśvara, author of the Gṛhastharatnākara and other Ratnākaras.
1300 A. D.–1380 A. D.—Mādhavācārya, author of Parāśara-Mādhavīya.
1360 A. D.–1390 A. D.—Madanapārijāta.
1425 A. D.–1450 A. D.—Madanaratna.
1520 A. D.–1570 A. D.—Raghunandana.
1610 A. D.–1640 A. D.—Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, author of Nirṇayasindhu and Śūdrakamalākara.
1615 A. D.–1645 A. D.—Nīlakaṇṭha, author of Saṁskāra-mayūkha and other Mayūkhas.
1610 A. D.–1640 A. D.—Mitra Miśra, author of Vīramitrodaya.
1650 A. D.–1680 A. D.—Anantadeva, author of Saṁskāra-kaustubha.
About 1686 A. D.—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha.
1700 A. D.–1750 A. D.—Nāgojībhaṭṭa.
1750 A. D.–1820 A. D.—Bālambhaṭṭa, author of Bālambhaṭṭī.
1790 A. D. —Dharmasindhu (of Kāśīnātha).

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SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

CHAP. I. 1—18

Topics of dharmaśāstra. Various divisions of *dharma.* Dharmas common to all (sādhāraṇa-dharma). Truth, love, charity, self-restraint. Standard of moral values. Four puruṣārthas (goals of human existence) and their gradation. Limits of Āryāvarta. Bharatavarṣa.

CHAP. II. 19—104

Varṇa. High eulogy and condemnation of caste system. Characteristic features of modern caste system. History of the word varṇa. Ārya and dāsa or dasyu. Viś in the Ṛgveda. Position of Śūdra in Vedic Literature. Position of the three higher varṇas *inter se.* Professions and crafts in Vedic Saṁhitās. Rathakāra and Niṣāda. Propositions deducible from Vedic Literature. List of various crafts and avocations culled from Vedic Literature. Ramifications of caste traced by dharmaśāstra writers to mixed unions. Two postulates as to castes in dharmaśāstra writers. *Anuloma* and *pratiloma* castes. *Jāti.* Status of children of mixed castes. *Varṇasaṁkara. Jālyutkarṣa* and *Jālyapakarṣa.* Professional castes and guilds. List of castes mentioned by works from 500 B. C. to 1000 A. D. Revolt against the caste system in the Mahābhārata. A few of the castes mentioned by medieval works.

CHAP. III. 105–164

Duties, disabilities and privileges of varṇas. Brāhmaṇa's special privileges and duties—study of veda, teaching the veda, officiating at and performing sacrifices, making and receiving gifts. Rules about receiving gifts. Special duty of śūdras to serve higher castes. Divisions of śūdras. Brāhmaṇa in distress may do the work specially meant for kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Brāhmaṇa and money-lending, agriculture, sale and barter as means of livelihood in distress. Begging. High eulogy of brāhmaṇas. Enumeration and discussion of special privileges claimed by brāhmaṇas. Disabilities of śūdras, viz. not authorized to study the veda nor to perform vedic sacrifices with vedic mantras, liability to receive higher punishment for certain offences, not to hold high offices like that of judge.

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CHAP. IV. 165–179

Untouchability. Hardly any Vedic passage supports it. *Antyajas* according to the smṛtis. Rules about shadow of untouchables. Public roads and untouchables. Matters in which immediate relief required.

CHAP. V. 180–187

Slavery. Existence of slavery in Vedic times. Kinds of slaves in the smṛtis. Manumission of slaves.

CHAP. VI. 188–267

Saṁskāras. Purpose of saṁskāras. Divisions of saṁskāras. Divergence as to number of saṁskāras. List of saṁskāras named by all or most of the smṛti writers. Saṁskāras of śūdras. Easy expiation provided for non-performance of saṁskāras. Garbhādhāna known from the times of the Atharvaveda. Procedure of Garbhādhāna in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad and smṛtis. Whether it is a saṁskāra of the woman or of the child. Altar in gṛhya rites. *Homa.* Preliminary rites in all saṁskāras such as Gaṇapatipūjana, Puṇyāhavācana, Mātṛkāpūjana, Nāndīśrāddha. *Puṁsavana. Anavalobhana. Sīmantonnayana. Viṣṇubali. Soṣyantīkarma. Jātakarma* and several component parts of it such as homa, *Medhājanana. Nāmakaraṇa.* How names were given at various periods; several names for the same person. Rules about names. *Karṇavedha. Niṣkramaṇa. Annaprāśana. Varṣavardhana. Caula. Vidyārambha.*

CHAP. VII. 268–415

Upanayana. Meaning of the word. Origin and development of this sacrament. It implies gāyatryupadeśa. Ancient features of upanayana. Originally a simple ceremony. The proper age for upanayana for the three varṇas. The auspicious time for it. Rules about the skin, the garments, the girdle and the staff of the brahmacārin of different varṇas. The preliminary rites of Upanayana such as homa. The principal rites of upanayana. History of *yajñopavīta* from ancient times. Rules for manufacturing and wearing yajñopavīta. Whether women had upanayana performed and could wear yajñopavīta. Wearing of yajñopavīta given up by kṣatriyas in the first few centuries after Christ. Whether upanayana performed for the blind, the deaf and dumb, idiots &c. Upanayana of mixed castes and of the aśvattha tree. Imparting of sacred Gāyatrī to the student.

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Vyāhṛtis and 'om'. Eulogy of Gāyatrī. The dharmas (duties) of brahmacārins. Bhikṣā (begging) for food by brahmacārin. Performance of Saṁdhyā twice daily and rules about the principal elements of saṁdhyā, such as ācamana, prāṇāyāma, mārjana, aghamarṣaṇa, arghya to the sun, japa of Gāyatrī, upasthāna (worship). Nyāsas and Mudrās. Study of the veda, the first duty. Features of the ancient educational system, such as oral instruction, teaching without stipulating for a fee, student's stay with the teacher. Qualifications of a good teacher and the qualities of a good pupil. Students did work for the teacher. Rules about honouring the teacher and elders, bowing to them and about the return of greetings. Saluting women relatives and the wife of the teacher. Rules about showing courtesy and precedence on public roads. Grounds of showing respect. Duration of student-hood. Subjects of study at various periods. Corporal punishment of pupils. Education of kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras and of women. Merits and defects of the ancient system of education. The *Veda-vratas.* Perpetual (naiṣṭhika) students. *Patitasāvitrīka* (whose upanayana had not been performed). Whether kṣatriyas and vaiśyas exist in the Kali age. The Vrātyastoma for those whose upanayana had not been performed at all. Taking back those who had been forcibly converted or who belonged to other faiths. Tolerance in ancient India. Absorption of foreign elements. *Punarupanayana* (performing upanayana again). *Anadhyāya* (cessation of study) on various days and for various reasons. *Keśānta* or *Godāna. Snāna* or *Samāvartana* (the student's return from the teacher after finishing Vedic study). Rules of conduct for *snātakas.*

CHAP. VIII. 416–426

Āśramas. Origin and development of the idea of āśramas (stages of life). Number of āśramas four from the times of the most ancient dharmasūtras. Manu's theory. Brahmacarya and householder's stage well-known even to the Ṛgveda. Vaikhānasa and yati in Vedic Literature. Three āśramas expressly mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. Idea of mokṣa (release from saṁsāra). Varṇa and āśrama complementary. Three different points of view about the four āśramas.

CHAP. IX. 427–541

Marriage. The most important saṁskāra of all. Texts do not point to a society where there was promiscuity and no

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marriage. Purposes of marriage. Qualifications of a desirable bridegroom. Rules for the selection of a bride. Lakṣaṇas (indicatory characteristics), *bāhya* (visible) and *ābhyantara* (invisible or inferrible). Four or five grounds for preferring a particular girl. Selecting a girl by asking her to take one out of several lumps of clay gathered from various places. In ancient times brotherless maidens not accepted as brides. No unmarried woman was deemed in medieval times to go to heaven. Restrictions as to caste, gotra, pravara and sapiṇḍa relationship. Breach of these rules rendered a so-called marriage null and void. Age of marriage for men not fixed. Age of marriage for girls varied at different periods. In the ancient sūtras girls were married about the time of puberty. Reasons for insistence on pre-puberty marriages in Yājñavalkyasmṛti and other works not clear. Examples of inter-caste marriages in Vedic Literature, in dharma and gṛhya sūtras and smṛtis and in inscriptions. Anuloma marriages allowed till about the 9th century A. D. Sapiṇḍa relationship explained in the Mit. Rules about prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapiṇḍa relationship. Conflict of texts as to these rules. Marriage with one's maternal uncle's daughter. Conflict on this point among medieval writers and among several castes. Narrowing of sapiṇḍa relationship permitted by writers of digests only on the ground of usage. Meaning of '*viruddhasambandha*.' Sapiṇḍa relationship of the adopted son. Meaning of sapiṇḍa according to Dāyabhāga and Raghunandana. Marriage between sagotras and sapravaras forbidden. Meaning of 'gotra' and 'pravara' in Vedic works. Gotra and pravara of importance in several matters. Gotra in the sūtras and digests. Divisions and sub-divisions of gotras. Each gotra has one or more pravaras. Gotras of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas. Names of kṣatriya kings among gotras and pravaras. Marriage of sagotras and sapravaras void according to the writers of digests. Persons that have power to give a girl in marriage. Sale of girls in marriage in ancient times. Taking monetary consideration for one's daughter condemned. Father's power over his children. Conflict of views among writers as to ownership over one's wife and children. Infanticide, medieval and modern. Auspicious time for marriage. Medieval works introduced difficulties on astrological grounds. Forms of marriage. Meaning of rākṣasa and paiśāca marriages. *Svayaṁvara*. Only two forms of marriage in vogue in modern times. Procedure of marriage in the Ṛgveda and in the gṛhya sūtras. List of the several elements in the marriage rite and

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their description. When marriage becomes complete and irrevocable. Marriage brought about by force or fraud.

CHAP. X. 542–549

Madhuparka. Procedure of it from the sūtras. *Arkavivāha* (marriage with the arka plant). *Parivedana* (marrying before an elder brother or sister).

CHAP. XI. 550–582

Polygamy, polyandry, rights and duties on marriage. No evidence for polyandry in Sanskrit Literature except in the case of Draupadī. First duty of wife was to co-operate with the husband in all religious matters. Wife not authorised to perform religious rites independently or without husband's consent. Precedence among co-wives in religious matters. Theory of debts with which every man was supposed to be born, one being the debt to his ancestors and discharged by procreating sons. Duties of wife dwelt upon at great length in all smṛtis and digests. Foremost duty of wife is to obey her husband and honour him as god. Ideal of a *pativratā.* Wife's conduct when husband was away from home on a journey. Supernatural powers ascribed to *pativratā.* Wife's right of residence and maintenance. Husband's power of correction. Humane treatment even when wife guilty of adultery. No identity of husband and wife for secular or legal purposes. Position of women in ancient India. Estimate of the character of women in Sanskrit works. Passages condemning women's character. High eulogy of and reverence for the mother.

CHAP. XII. 583–598

Duties of widows. Rules of conduct for widows for one year after the death of the husband. In widowhood woman to lead an ascetic life, avoid luxuries like perfumes, flowers, chewing betelnut. Widow (except one's mother) declared to be most inauspicious. Her rights in a joint family, and as heir to husband's separate property. Widow's position improved by recent legislation. The practice of tonsure of brāhmaṇa widows has no sanction in the vedas and smṛtis (excepting one or two). Examination of texts relied upon in support of this practice. Only Skandapurāṇa and medieval digests insist on tonsure. Practice gradually evolved from about 10th or 11th century. Sentiment that a woman should not be killed on any account.

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Position of women became assimilated to that of śūdras in religious matters. Certain advantages conceded to women. Practice of *purda* did not exist for women except for queens and ladies of high or noble rank.

CHAP. XIII. 599-607

Niyoga. Great divergence of views about the origin and purpose of this practice. Stringent conditions were laid down by smṛtikāras before niyoga could be resorted to. Breach of the conditions severely condemned and made punishable. Some even very ancient writers on dharma did not allow this practice. The Mahābhārata is full of examples of niyoga. Some writers held that texts permitting niyoga applied to śūdras or to girls who were only promised in marriage to a person but not actually married to him (as he died in the meantime). Three views upon the question 'to whom the child born of niyoga belonged.' Niyoga forbidden in the Kali age by Bṛhaspati and other smṛti writers.

CHAP. XIV. 608-623

Remarriage of widows. The word 'punarbhū' does not necessarily mean 'remarried widow'. Nārada on the kinds of *punarbhūs* and *svairiṇīs*. Baudhāyana and Kaśyapa on 7 kinds of punarbhū. Smṛtis (except those of Vasiṣṭha, Nārada and one or two others) prohibit remarriage of widows. Rules for a wife whose husband is unheard of for many years. Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act of 1856. Appalling number of child widows. Verses of Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda supposed to refer to remarriage of widows examined. Divorce unknown in Vedic or Dharmaśāstra Literature. Kauṭilya on divorce. Divorce law in England and Roman Catholic countries.

CHAP. XV. 624-636

Satī. Forbidden in India from 1829. Practice of widow burning obtained in many countries. Practice of Satī very limited in ancient times. *Sahagamana* and *anumaraṇa.* Brāhmaṇa widows were not allowed anumaraṇa. References to practice of Satī in classical Sanskrit Literature and epigraphic records. Rewards promised to *Satī.* Some commentators were opposed to this practice. Restrictions imposed against widow-burning by the smṛtis. Procedure of the rite of widow-burning. Widow-burning more prevalent in Bengal than anywhere else owing to the higher rights of succession granted to wives.

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CHAP. XVI. 637–639

Veśyā. The institution existed from Vedic times. The rights of concubines to maintenance.

CHAP. XVII. 640–695

Āhnika and ācāra. Importance of the stage of householder. Gṛhasthas grouped into śālīna and yāyāvara. Duties of householders described in detail in many smṛtis and digests. Various ways of dividing the day. Smṛtis usually divide the day into eight parts. Actions to be done on getting up from bed, such as hymns of praise to God, repeating the names of famous personages like Nala and of persons that are supposed to be *cirajīvins.* Auspicious and inauspicious sights on getting up from bed. Rules about answering calls of nature. Cleanliness of body (*śauca*) in various ways. Ācamana (sipping water). *Dantadhāvana* (brushing the teeth) existed from the most ancient times. What twigs to be used for it. Times when there is to be no brushing of teeth. *Snāna* (bath). Kuśas necessary in most religious acts. Rules about collecting kuśas. Snāna twice a day or thrice according to some. No bath at night (except on rare occasions). Natural water preferred to water drawn from wells or hot water. Procedure of bathing. Rules about the clay to be employed for smearing and cleaning the body. Ten good results of a bath. Six varieties of bathing with water. How one who is ill is to be purified. *Tarpaṇa* as a constituent part of *snāna.* Clothes to be worn by a householder. Making marks on the forehead after bathing. *Ūrdhvapuṇḍra* and *Tripuṇḍra.* Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sectarians condemning each other's marks. *Saṁdhyā* after bath. *Homa.* Two views about performing it before or after sunrise. Agnihotra twice daily. Three or five or six fires. When to begin maintaining gṛhya fire. Materials for *havis.* Homa to be offered by oneself or by one's son, pupil, brother, sister's son or a similar relative. Wife or unmarried daughter may offer homa in gṛhya fire if householder be ill. *Japa* of Vedic texts. What are maṅgala (auspicious) objects. The matters described so far occupy first eighth part of the day. In 2nd part revision of Vedic texts, collecting fuel sticks, flowers, kuśas &c. In 3rd part one was to find out means of maintenance and to earn wealth. In 4th part mid-day bath. Then *tarpaṇa* of gods, sages and *pitṛs.* A brief tarpaṇa is also prescribed.

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CHAP. XVIII. 696–704

Mahāyajñas (five daily observances or sacrifices). These are mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. Mahāyajñas distinguished from śrauta rites in two ways. Sentiments that prompted the five yajñas in very remote days. Later on purpose of Mahāyajñas stated to be atonement for injury to life caused by daily acts. The five yajñas in order of performance are brahmayajña, devayajña, bhūtayajña, pitṛyajña and manuṣya-yajña. *Brahmayajña.* Earliest description in Śatapatha Br. and Tai. Ār. Brahmayajña for Ṛgvedins described.

CHAP. XIX. 705–740

Devayajña. In sūtras homa is Devayajña. In medieval times homa receded into background and *devapūjā* took its place. Discussion whether images of gods were known in Vedic times. Meaning of *Siśnadeva.* Phallic emblems at Mohenjo-daro. Liṅga worship. Images known long before Pāṇini. Erection of temples and worship of images, whether borrowed or indigenous. Substances from which images were made. Principal gods of whom images were worshipped. Ritual of image worship. Who are entitled to perform devapūjā. Śālagrāma and other sacred stones. Pañcāyatanapūjā. Ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. Germs of the theory in Vedic Literature. When Buddha came to be looked upon as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Why Buddhism disappeared from India. Evidence for religious persecution in India very meagre. Śiva worship. Worship of Gaṇeśa and Dattātreya. Earliest description of the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva. The 16 modes of worship (*upacāras*). Flowers in the worship of different gods. *Tāmbūla.* Namaskāras to the sun. Worship of Durgā. Analysis of devapūjā in modern times.

CHAP. XX. 741–748

Vaiśvadeva. According to some it comprises three yajñas, viz. to gods, bhūtas and pitṛs. Deities of Vaiśvadeva. Usually performed only once in the noon. Procedure of Vaiśvadeva. Views about Vaiśvadeva in relation to śrāddha. *Baliharaṇa* or *bhūtayajña.* Daily pitṛ-yajña.

CHAP. XXI. 741–756

Nṛyajña or *Manuṣyayajña* (honouring guests). Guests honoured from Ṛgveda downwards. Who is an *atithi.* Modes

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of showing honour to guests. Motive of the injunction about guests was universal kindliness. Taking leave of a guest.

CHAP. XXII. 757–806

Bhojana (taking meals). Importance attached to purity of food. Rules about *bhojana* in Vedic Literature. Direction in which to take food. Times of taking food. Vessels to be used in *bhojana*. Preliminaries before bhojana (such as ācamana, prāṇāhutis &c.). Posture at time of eating. How much to eat. How paṅktis (rows of dinners) were distinguished. Who are *paṅktipāvana* brāhmaṇas. Etiquette at time of bhojana. Occasions (like eclipses) when abstaining from food was prescribed. What food should or should not be eaten. Various grounds on which food was forbidden. Flesh-eating in Vedic times. Sacredness of cow. *Pañcagavya*. Occasions when cow could be offered in sacrifices. Rules about the flesh of beasts, birds and fishes. Causes of the giving up of flesh-eating. Kṣatriyas have been meat-eaters from ancient times. Rules about taking milk and its products and about certain herbs and vegetables. Exhaustive list of persons whose food may not be taken. Great fluctuations about the rules as to whose food may not be taken by a brāhmaṇa. Laxity about food prepared with ghee, oil or milk. Food from five classes of śūdras could be taken by brāhmaṇas in the times of sūtras, but later on this was forbidden. Rules about persons who could cook and serve food for brāhmaṇas. Drinking liquor in ancient times. All intoxicants forbidden to brāhmaṇas from sūtra times, but some intoxicants allowed to kṣatriyas and others. *Madyas* of various kinds. *Tāmbūla* after bhojana. Acts to be done after bhojana. Rules about sleeping. Sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Rules about *Rajasvalā* (a woman in her monthly illness). Rules about the distribution of the king's duties—in the several parts of the day and night.

CHAP. XXIII. 807–818

Upākarma (starting of the session of vedic studies) and *utsarjana* (cessation from vedic studies). Divergence about time of upākarma. Explanation of the importance attached to the month of Śrāvaṇa and the Śravaṇa constellation. Procedure of upākarma in ancient times. Analysis of the constituents of upākarma in modern times. Holiday after upākarma. Divergence about times of utsarjana. Description of modern *utsarjana*.

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CHAP. XXIV. 819–836

Minor gṛhya and other rites. Pārvaṇa sthālīpāka. *Caitrī*. Sītāyajña. Śrāvaṇī and Sarpabali. Serpent-worship from ancient times. Festival in honour of Indra. *Āśvayujī*. *Āgrayaṇa iṣṭi*. Āgrahāyaṇī. Śūlagava or Īśānabali. Vāstupratiṣṭhā, ancient and modern.

CHAP. XXV. 837–888

Dāna (gifts). Dāna is a special feature of householder's stage. Gifts highly extolled in the Ṛgveda. Gift of horses censured in some works. Gifts of land were not favoured in very early times. Difference between dāna, yāga and homa. Meaning of iṣṭāpūrta. All could make gifts (including women and śūdras). Persons fit and unfit to be donees. What things could be donated and what not. Three classes of things that could be given. Dānas of three kinds, viz. *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. Making gifts in secret eulogised. Certain gifts should not be spurned. Gifts of certain things forbidden. Proper times for making gifts. Generally gifts not to be made at night. Gifts at times of eclipses, *saṁkrānti* and on *ayana* days specially recommended. Proper places for gifts. Presiding deities of various articles of gift. General procedure of making gifts. Kings were required to make various kinds of gifts to brāhmaṇas. Spending money for marriages of brāhmaṇas and settling them in houses highly eulogised. Gifts of land the most meritorious. Smṛti rules about land-grants followed in epigraphic records. Verses deprecating the resumption of gifts made by earlier kings. Prior gifts to temples and brāhmaṇas excepted in grants of villages. Taxes remitted in royal grants. The eight *bhogas* in relation to land grants. Discussion whether king is owner of all lands in the kingdom. Gifts called mahādānas described in purāṇas. Sixteen mahādānas. Procedure of Tulāpuruṣa and other mahādānas. Gift of cows highly extolled. Gifts of ten kinds called *dhenus* such as of ghee, jaggery &c. Ten kinds of gifts called *parvata* or *meru dānas* viz. of heaps of corn, salt, sesame &c. Establishing a pavilion for distributing water. Gift of books. Gifts for propitiating planets. Founding of hospitals. Expiations for accepting gifts which should not have been accepted. When gift becomes irrevocable. Kinds of invalid gifts. Gifts to dharma held void by modern courts.

CHAP. XXVI. 889–916

Pratiṣṭhā and *Utsarga* (founding of temples and dedication of wells &c.). Women and śūdras also could spend on *pūrta-*

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dharma, though not on iṣṭa (vedic sacrifices). Charitable works for the benefit of the public came to be regarded as more meritorious than sacrifices. Procedure of dedicating a tank or well to the public in the sūtras. Procedure prescribed in purāṇas gradually superseded the sūtra procedure. Meaning of dāna, pratiṣṭhā and utsarga. Trees highly valued in ancient India. Trees supposed to save a man from hell just as a son did. Worship of trees. Consecration of images in temples. Image worship in a public temple or privately. Procedure of consecration of images according to the Matsya-purāṇa. In later times other details added from Tantra works. Three kinds of Nyāsas viz, mātṛkānyāsa, tattvanyāsa and mantranyāsa. Consecration of the image of Viṣṇu from Vaikhānasa Smārtasūtra. Practice of attaching dancing girls to temples is comparatively ancient. When re-consecration (punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā) becomes necessary. *Jīrṇoddhāra* (repairing or re-constructing a dilapidated temple &c.), time and procedure of. Founding of maṭhas (monasteries or colleges for teachers and pupils). Distinction between a temple and a maṭha. Maṭhas said to have been established by the great teacher Śaṁkarācārya. The origin of maṭhas in general. How property of maṭha devolves. Appointment and powers of the head of a maṭha. How rulers and courts in ancient and medieval times controlled administration of temple and maṭha properties. Modern legislation dealing with religious and charitable endowments. *Yogakṣema* is impartible. Control of founder on work dedicated to the public. Powers of a *shebait* to remove an idol or to establish another.

CHAP. XXVII. 917-929

Vānaprastha (forest hermit). Vaikhānasa, ancient word for vānaprastha. An ancient work called Vaikhānasa sūtra or śāstra. Time for becoming a vānaprastha. Principal points connected with being a vānaprastha. If he suffers from an incurable disease, he may start on the great journey till the body falls to rise no more. Intricate classification of vānaprasthas in Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra and others. Members of all varṇas except śūdras could become vānaprasthas. Members of princely houses as vānaprasthas. Ending one's life by starting on the great journey (mahāprasthāna) or by fire or water or falling from a precipice when and why allowed. Historical examples of this practice. This practice prohibited in the Kali age. Most of the duties prescribed for vānaprasthas

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are the same as those for saṁnyāsins. So vānaprastha stage forbidden in Kali age by the Nāradīya-purāṇa and other works.

CHAP. XXVIII. 930–975

Saṁnyāsa (order of ascetics). Life of giving up worldly ties, of begging and contemplation on the Absolute known to the earliest Upaniṣads. Jābālopaniṣad prescribes rules for ascetics. The most salient features of saṁnyāsa gathered from the dharmasūtras and smṛtis. Tridaṇḍi and ekadaṇḍi ascetics. Four kinds of ascetics, *kutīcaka*, *bahūdaka*, *haṁsa* and *paramahaṁsa* and their characteristics. Popular notion that the paramahaṁsa is beyond all rules and prohibitions combated by ancient texts. Vidvat-saṁnyāsa and vividiṣā-saṁnyāsa. The *turīyātīta* and *avadhūta* kinds of ascetics. Opinions as to whether saṁnyāsa was allowed only to brāhmaṇas or to all three varṇas. According to smṛtis and medieval works a śūdra could not become an ascetic. Women in rare cases adopted the ascetic mode of life. The word saṁnyāsa conveys two distinct ideas. Some held that saṁnyāsa was meant only for the blind and the cripple. Ascetics were to give up wife and home and were not to revert to householder's life. Ten orders of *advaita* saṁnyāsins following Śaṁkarācārya's doctrines and their maṭhas. Disputes among the heads of these maṭhas as to properties and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. How successors to the pontiffs of the maṭhas are appointed. How and why saṁnyāsins gave up doctrine of *ahiṁsā* in medieval times. A saṁnyāsin is severed from his family and loses rights of property in it. By custom certain saṁnyāsins called Gosāvis were allowed to have wives and concubines. Procedure of saṁnyāsa according to the sūtras. Procedure of saṁnyāsa according to Dharmasindhu. Principal elements are; eight śrāddhas, *sāvitrīpraveśa*, virajāhoma, declaration of leaving home, all wealth and desires and taking vow of ahiṁsā, giving up of topknot and sacred thread, teaching by guru of *pañcīkaraṇa* and *mahāvākyas* (like tat tvam-asi), giving of a new name by the teacher, yogapaṭṭa (p. 962), paryaṅka-śauca. Saṁnyāsa *in extremis* (ātura-saṁnyāsa). Controversies about giving up śikhā and yajñopavīta. Daily duties of an ascetic. No impurity on his death for his relatives and *vice versa*. Ascetic heads of maṭhas claim in modern times jurisdiction in matters of caste, excommunication, expiations for lapses. In ancient times *pariṣads* (assemblies of learned

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men) exercised these functions and kings acted on their advice. The number of persons required to constitute a parisad for deciding a doubtful point about dharma. Śiṣṭas constitute a *pariṣad*. Meaning of śiṣṭa. The council of eight ministers established by Shivaji and the duties of the Panditrao, one of these eight. Panditrao took advice of the pariṣads of learned brāhmaṇas on questions of re-admission of converts, expiations &c. Many features of asceticism are common to all religions. It is a partial truth that Indians have the highest regard for the ascetic.

CHAP. XXIX. 976–1008

Śrauta (Vedic) sacrifices. Deep study of vedic sacrifices essential for the proper understanding of Vedic Literature, for appreciating the influence of that Literature on varṇas. Chronology uncertain. Works, ancient and modern, on Vedic sacrifices. Jaimini on interpretation of Vedic texts relating to sacrifices. Cult of yajña existed in Indo-Iranian period. Literary and epigraphic evidence for the performance of Vedic sacrifices by kings after the advent of Buddha. Grants made by kings for enabling brāhmaṇas to perform agnihotra &c. The references to sacrificial matters in the Ṛgveda. General rules applicable in all sūtras. Mantras of four kinds, *ṛk*, *yajus*, *sāman* and *nigada*. Different kinds of ladles. Sacrificial utensils. The several fires. The five bhūsaṁskāras. *Agnyādheya*. Choosing the devayajana (place of worship). Procedure of agnyādheya. *Punarādheya*. *Agnihotra* in the morning and evening. Rules about agnihotra when the householder goes away from home either alone or with his wife.

CHAP. XXX. 1009–1090

Darśapūrṇamāsa (New moon and Full moon sacrifices). Time for starting the performance of darśapūrṇamāsa. Anvārambhaṇīyā iṣṭi, śākhāharaṇa, barhirāharaṇa (bringing bundles of kuśa grass), idhmāharaṇa (bringing fuel-sticks), *Sāyamdoha*. *Upavasatha* day. *Sānnāyya*. *Brahmavaraṇa* (choosing the brahmā priest). *Praṇītā* waters. *Nirvāpa* (taking out sacrificial material). Prokṣaṇa (sprinkling) of sacrificial material, utensils &c. The *Haviṣkṛt* call. Beating the grains of rice. Baking cake (puroḍāśa) on potsherds. Construction of vedi (altar). *Patnīsaṁnahana* (girding up the sacrificer's wife). Barhirāstaraṇa (strewing the vedi with kuśas). Fifteen Sāmidhenī verses. *Pravaramantra* (invocation of fire). The two āghāras

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(pouring of ājya in a continuous stream). *Hotṛvaraṇa.* The *Prayājas* (five offerings). Vaṣaṭkāra. *Ājyabhāgas* (two). The principal sacrifice of portions of the cake. Offering to Agni sviṣṭakṛt. Cutting off a portion of the cake called prāśitra (for brahmā). *Iḍā* cut off from puroḍāśa. A thin long slice of puroḍāśa for yajamāna. Invocation of Iḍā by the hotṛ. Brahmā eats prāśitra, hotṛ eats avāntareḍā, all priests together with the yajamāna partake of iḍā. Division of puroḍāśa for Agni into four parts and eating of the portions by the four priests. *Mārjana* thereafter. Cooking a mess of boiled rice (called *anvāhārya*) as fee for the four priests. The three *anuyāja* offerings. Recitation of *sūktavāka.* Throwing of prastara bunch and śākhā into fire. Śaṁyuvāka. Throwing the *paridhis* on fire. *Patnīsaṁyājas. Phalīkaraṇahoma.* Samsthājapa by hotṛ. Samiṣṭayajus offerings. Adhvāryu and brahmā leave the sacrificial hall. Yajamāna takes Viṣṇu strides. Final prayer by yajamāna. *Piṇḍapitṛyajña.*

CHAP. XXXI. 1091–1108

Cāturmasyas (seasonal sacrifices). Four Cāturmāsyas each called a *parvan*, viz. Vaiśvadeva, Varuṇapraghāsa, Sākamedha and Śunāsīrīya, respectively performed on Full moon days of Phālguna, Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and on the 5th full moon day from Sākamedha or two or three days before it. Observances on all *parvan* days such as shaving head and face, not using a cot, avoiding meat, honey, salt and sexual intercourse. Five offerings common to all Cāturmāsyas. Cāturmāsyas may be performed throughout life or for one year. Three special offerings in Vaiśvadeva-parva. Nine *prayājas* and nine *anuyājas* in Vaiśvadeva. Varuṇapraghāsa performed in rainy season outside the house. Two vedis prepared, to north and south, respectively in charge of adhvaryu and pratiprasthātṛ. Procedure is like that of Vaiśvadeva. Four special offerings in this in addition to five common to all. Procedure of Varuṇapraghāsas. The wife has to declare or indicate if she has any paramour. Concluding avabhṛtha (bath) in a river or the like. Sākamedha requires two days. Three iṣṭis and a *mahāhavis* of eight offerings to eight deities. Then pitṛyajña (called mahāpitṛyajña) on a separate vedi. Also Traiyambaka homa offered to Rudra. Śunāsīrīyaparvan has three special offerings to Śunāśirau, Vāyu and Sūrya. Iṣṭi called Āgrayaṇa (offering of first fruits) in Śarad on Full moon day. Other iṣṭis performed for some specific objects e. g. putreṣṭi for son, Kārīrīṣṭi for rain &c.

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CHAP. XXXII. 1109–1132

Nirūḍhapaśubandha or Paśubandha (animal sacrifice). A victim is offered in Somayāga also, but as part of it. Nirūḍhapaśu is an independent sacrifice to be performed by an *āhitāgni* every six months or once a year. Six priests required in this sacrifice. Procedure of animal sacrifice. Selecting a tree and making a yūpa (sacrificial post) and a head piece (caṣāla) for the post. Preparing a vedi and a raised platform on it called *uttaravedi* and a square hole thereon called *nābhi.* Animals sacrificed for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Eleven prayāja offerings. Verses from Āprī hymns employed. The eleven prayāja deities. Śāmitra fire for roasting omentum of the victim. Hotṛ's recitation of the Adhrigu formula. Choking to death or strangling of the he-goat. Omentum taken out and offered by the adhvaryu into Āhavanīya fire for Indra-Agni or Sūrya or Prajāpati. Six priests, sacrificer and his wife perform *Mārjana.* The limbs of the victim that are cut off, and portions of which are offered as paśu-puroḍāśa. Heart of victim is roasted with a pike on śāmitra fire and offered as *havis* to Manotā. Priests and sacrificer partake of *iḍā* constituted by remnants of the limbs of the victim. Upayāja offerings of a part of the entrails along with the Anuyāja offerings. The hotṛ repeats the formula called Sūktavāka. Maitrāvaruṇa throws his staff into fire. Offerings of Patnī-saṁyājas with portions of the tail. *Kāmyāḥ Paśavaḥ* (animal sacrifices from various desires). Ekādaśina, a group sacrifice of eleven victims.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1133–1203

Agniṣṭoma. Sacrifices are divided into *iṣṭi, paśu* and *soma.* Seven forms of soma sacrifices, Agniṣṭoma, Atyagniṣṭoma, Ukthya &c. Soma sacrifices divided into ekāha, ahīna and sattra. Jyotiṣṭoma, often identified with Agniṣṭoma, usually lasts for five days. Chief rites performed on those five days. Time for performing Agniṣṭoma. Priests invited and honoured with Madhuparka. Requesting the king for sacrificial ground (*devayajana*). Sacrificer and his wife undergo *apsu-dīkṣā* and subsist on milk or light food. Purification of both with bunches of darbhas. Procedure of dīkṣaṇīyā iṣṭi after which sacrificer comes to be called dīkṣita. Even a kṣatriya sacrificer was announced as a brāhmaṇa. Observances of the dīkṣita and his wife and people's conduct towards him. Observance of silence by sacrificer twice daily. The *prāyaṇīyā iṣṭi.* Purchase of Soma and the drama of higgling about its price. Cow offered as its price is taken back. Bundle

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of Soma stalks placed on antelope skin spread on a cart, that is brought to the east of the prāgvaṁśa. Recital of the Subrahmaṇyā litany by the Subrahmaṇya priest. A goat is presented to king Soma. Oxen are released from the cart, soma bundle taken out of the cart, placed on a couch of udumbara wood and brought to the south of the āhavanīya. Ātithyeṣṭi (iṣṭi for hospitably receiving king Soma) follows. Then comes Tanūnaptra (a solemn covenant of the sacrificer and priests not to injure each other). Pravargya and Upasad follow. Pravargya was a sublime rite supposed to endow sacrificer with a new body. Not necessary in every Agniṣṭoma. The heated milk is called gharma and the pot of heated milk Mahavīra or Saṁrāṭ. Wife was not to look at it (at least in the beginning), nor śūdras. On 2nd, 3rd and 4th days Pravargya and Upasad performed twice. How pravargya apparatus is discharged (udvāsana). *Upasad* is an iṣṭi. Mantras repeated in Upasad refer to sieges of iron, silver and gold castles. On 2nd day of upasads *Mahāvedi* is prepared, on which a quadrangular platform (called uttaravedi) is raised and a square hole called nābhi is made on which fire is brought on the 4th day from the original āhavanīya. Erection of the harvidhāna-maṇḍapa in which two carts are kept. Digging of four holes (called uparavas) below the forepart of the shafts of the southern cart. A mound (*khara*) to east of uparavas for keeping soma vessels on. Erection of sadas to the west of the havirdhāna maṇḍapa. Planting of an udumbara post in sadas. Preparing eight dhiṣṇyas (seats), six in sadas, one in the āgnīdhrīya shed and the eighth in the mārjālīya shed. On uparavas kuśas are spread, over which two boards of udumbara are placed and a hide thereon. On the hide are stones for crushing soma stalks. Offering of an animal to Agni-Soma. Then follow offerings of ājya called Vaisarjina to Soma. Fire is carried to the uttaravedi, and established on āgnīdhra dhiṣṇya. Bringing Vasatīvarī water in a jar and keeping it in āgnīdhra shed. Last day is called 'sutyā'. Repeating of a long prayer called Prātaranuvāka by hotṛ long before day-break to Agni, Uṣas and Aśvins. Making ready of five offerings. Filling of *ekadhana* pitchers by adhvaryu and of *pannejana* vessel by the sacrificer's wife. Extracting Soma from a few stalks, filling the upāṁśugraha and offering its contents. Then comes *Mahābhiṣava* (principal pressing). Offering soma from various cups to several deities. *Vipruḍ-ḍhoma.* Priests come creeping towards the north corner of the great vedi, where the

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Bahiṣpavamāna laud is to be chanted by the udgātṛ, prastotṛ and the prati-hartṛ. Some of the other priests and the sacrificer become choristers. The nine verses of the Bahiṣpavamāna stotra set out from the Ṛgveda and method of their manipulation when sung in the sāma chant exhibited. Notes on the parts and svaras of *sāmans*. Rites of offering the *savanīya* animal. The five savanīya offerings of cake &c. Offerings of soma from *dvidevatya grahas* (cups). *Camasonnayana* (filling of nine camasas) for the priests called Camasādhvaryus. The offering of soma from the cups called *śukra* and *manthin*. Two chips of wood offered to the asuras, Śaṇḍa and Marka. Acchāvāka priest's request and filling his camasa with soma Offering of *ṛtugrahas*. Kṣatriyas were not authorised to drink soma. The hotṛ performs japa, āhāva (hotṛ's call) to which there is *pratigara* (response of adhvaryu), hotṛ offers prayer called tūṣṇīm-śaṁsa, twelve clauses of *nivid*, then hotṛ recites the *ājyaśastra*. Enumeration and distribution of the twelve stotras and śastras of Agniṣṭoma. Explanation of *stoma*, *stobha* and *stotra*. Meaning of Rathantara and other sāmans. Chanting of stotras other than Bahiṣpavamāna near audumbarī post in sadas. Four ājya-stotras in morning pressing. The 2nd śastra called Prauga recited by hotṛ and three more repeated by maitrāvaruṇa, brāhmaṇācchaṁsin and acchāvāka. At the end of morning pressing priests go out of the *sadas*. For the mid-day pressing priests again enter sadas. Procedure of mid-day pressing similar to that of morning pressing. The priest grāvastut wears the cloth, in which soma stalks were tied, as a turban and repeats many verses from the Ṛgveda. The chanting of the Mādhyandina-pavamāna-stotra. The dadhigharma rite, then the offering of paśu puroḍāśa and the five savanīya offerings (cake &c.). Distribution of dakṣiṇā to the several priests, sight-seers and others. The yajamāna throws antelope horn in cātvāla pit. Five offerings called Vaiśvakarmaṇa. The Marutvatīya śastra. Pṛṣṭha-stotra and Niṣkevalya śastra. Three more Pṛṣṭha stotras and three śastras recited by maitrāvaruṇa and two others. Procedure of evening pressing similar to mid-day pressing. Ārbhava-pavamāna chanted. Ṛbhus connected with third pressing. *Havis* prepared from savanīya paśu offered. Vaiśvadeva śastra. The Pātnīvata cup to Agni Patnīvat. Chanting of Yajñāyajñīya stotra also called Agniṣṭomasāman. Wife of sacrificer pours *pānnejana* water over her thigh and udgātṛ priest looks at her. Āgnimāruta śastra recited by hotṛ. Hāriyojana cup offered to

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Indra. All priests wait on āhavanīya with *Mindā* mantras. Avabhṛtha (final bath). All vessels except four sthālīs are thrown into water. Yajamāna casts antelope skin in cātvāla pit. Avabhṛtha sāman chanted. The *nidhana* of the sāman is repeated by all priests, yajamāna and his wife at three places on their way to reservoir of water. Yajamāna and wife enter water, rub each other's back. Handful of kuśa thrown in avabhṛtha iṣṭi. Puroḍāśa offered to Varuṇa and then to Agni and Varuṇa. The unnetṛ brings out yajamāna, wife and priests. They offer fuel sticks. The Udayanīyā iṣṭi (concluding). Anubandhyā ṛite (offering of a barren cow to Mitra and Varuṇa) or only *payasyā*. Then five offerings called Devikā to Dhātṛ, Anumati, Rākā, Sinīvālī and Kuhū. Udavasānīyā iṣṭi like punarādheya. Theories about the identity of the soma plant and its relation to the moon. In the Deccan a substitute called 'rānśera' is employed for soma.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1204–1223

Other soma sacrifices. Brief descriptions of Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atyagniṣṭoma, Atirātra and Aptoryāma. Vājapeya may be regarded as an independent sacrifice. Number 17 predominant in it. 17 cups of soma and 17 cups of surā for Prajāpati. A race with 17 chariots and 17 drums beaten. Vājapeya to be performed only by a brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya who desired super-eminence or overlordship. Horses of the chariots are made to smell *caru* of wild rice. When race starts brahmā priest repeats Vāji-sāman. An udumbara post as the goal for the chariot race. Chariot of sacrificer is in front and the rest follow at a distance. Chariots go round udumbara post and return to sacrificial ground. The principal wine cup is held by the pratiprasthātṛ and other sixteen are held by those who joined in the race and they are drunk by those latter. Ladder raised against yūpa and the sacrificer climbs up and holds a dialogue with his wife. Animals for Prajāpati are offered at time of mid-day pressing. Adhvaryu declares yajamāna to be *saṁrāṭ* Certain observances after Vājapeya. Fees distributed are 1700 cows, 17 chariots with four horses yoked to each, 17 *dāsīs* &c. After Vājapeya a king should perform Rājasūya and a brāhmaṇa Bṛhaspatisava. Jaimini's conclusions about Vājapeya. Viśvajit, Gosava and Sarvasvāra among Ekāha sacrifices briefly described. *Ahīna* sacrifices extending over two to twelve days of soma pressing. Description of the twelve days of the Dvādaśāha. Differences between Dvādaśāha as an ahīna and as a sattra. *Rājasūya*. A

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very complex ceremony extending over a long period (over two years), and comprising many separate iṣṭis, soma sacrifices and animal sacrifices. Rājasūya to be performed only by kṣatriyas. Its relation to Vājapeya. Dīkṣā on first day of bright half of Phālguna. The Pavitra sacrifice which is like Agniṣṭoma. One year thereafter Abhiṣecanīya. Five offerings one on each day after Pavitra sacrifice. On Full moon of phālguna iṣṭi to Anumati. Cāturmāsyas performed for one year, between the *parvans* of which darśa and pūrṇamāsa rites are celebrated. After Śunāsīrīya several rites. Twelve offerings called 'ratnināṁ havīṁṣi' on twelve days in the houses of the *ratnas* (viz. the king, his queens, state officers &c.) offered to different deities. Abhiṣecanīya (consecration) rite on first of Caitra and follows procedure of Ukthya. Eight offerings called Devasūhavīṁṣi. Waters of seventeen kinds in seventeen vessels of udumbara from Sarasvatī river and other sources. Pārtha homas. Holy water taken in four vessels. Sacrificer recites *āvid* formulae. Four principal priests sprinkle him with water from four vessels and a kṣatriya, vaiśya and a friend of the king do the same. Story of Śunaḥśepa recited by hotṛ for sacrificer's benefit. King takes three strides called Viṣṇukramas. Remnants of anointing water handed by king to his son. Symbolic march for plunder of cows. Dice-play which is so arranged that best throw comes to the king. Avabhṛtha follows. For ten days after Abhiṣecanīya offerings called 'Saṁsṛpām havīṁṣi' are made to Savitṛ and other deities. The Daśapeya, in which each of the camasas of soma are drunk by ten brāhmaṇas (i. e. in all 100). Very large dakṣiṇās prescribed e. g. some say 240000 cows should be presented. After Daśapeya some observances are kept by the sacrificer for one year. At the end of the year, the keśavapanīya ceremony took place. Then two rites called Vyuṣṭi-dvirātra at the interval of a month. One month after 2nd Vyuṣṭidvirātra the Kṣatradhṛti rite. One month after that the Sautrāmaṇī iṣṭi.

CHAP. XXXV. 1224–1255

Sautrāmaṇī and other sacrifices. *Sautrāmaṇī* is one of the seven Haviryajñas according to Gautama. Chief characteristic was offering of surā (wine) in it, in modern times milk being offered instead. Kokilī and Caraka-sautrāmaṇī. Procedure of both. Sautrāmaṇī takes four days, during first three of which wine is prepared from various ingredients and on last day, three cups of milk and three of wine were offered. Three goats

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were killed in this and fourth to Bṛhaspati. Method of preparing wine described. Remnants of the wine offered were not drunk by the priests, but a brāhmaṇa was hired for drinking them or they were poured on an ant-hill. Persons for whom Sautrāmaṇī was offered. Avabhṛtha and then āmikṣa to Mitra-Varuṇa and an animal to Indra. *Aśvamedha.* Horse-sacrifice in vogue even in Ṛgveda. It was a sacrifice for three days, to be performed by a king. Time of commencement. The four queens accompanied by princesses and large retinue come near the king. Rules about colour and qualities of horse. Guards of the horse, when it is let off to roam over the country. During horse's absence for a year three iṣṭis every day to Savitṛ. Chants by a brāhmaṇa after the iṣṭis every day and also by a kṣatriya lute-player. Hotṛ recites to the king surrounded by his sons and ministers the narrative called 'Pāriplava.' Every day for a year four oblations called Dhṛti made in the āhavanīya. At the end of the year horse was brought back and sacrificer took dīkṣā. 21 yupas, each 21 aratnis high. Large number of animals tied to yūpas slaughtered. Horse taken to a lake, bathed in it, brought back and anointed by the queens on various parts of the body. Dialogue between hotṛ and brahmā. When horse killed, queens go round horse, fan it with their garments, crowned queen lies by the side of the horse and both are covered with mantle. Abusive and obscene dialogues between hotṛ and crowned queen, between brahmā and favourite wife, between four principal priests and chamberlain on one side and the queens and their attendants on the other. Fat and blood of the horse offered. *Brahmodya* (theological dialogue of questions and riddles). *Mahiman* offerings. Remnants of these sprinkled over the king and offering to 12 months. Avabhṛtha on third pressing day. Offerings on the head of a bald man who dips into water to 'Jumbaka' (Varuṇa). When sacrificer comes out of water after avabhṛtha bath, persons guilty of grave sins plunge into it and become free from sins. Large fees on first and third pressing days. Aśvamedha rare even in ancient times. Description of Aśvamedha in the Mahābhārata. Epigraphic references to Aśvamedha. *Sattras.* Their duration is from twelve days to a year or more. Dvādaśāha is the archetype. Sattras divided into two classes, rātrisattras and sāṁvatsarika. Gavāmayana is model of all sattras of one year or more. Scheme of the parts of Gavām-ayana. When dīkṣā commenced. General rules applicable to all sattras. Though all are yajamānas and

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also priests in a sattra, one of them is called gṛhapati. Peculiar procedure followed as to dīkṣā. *Brahmodya* on 10th dāy or abuse of Prajāpati. Rules to be observed while dīkṣā lasts. Most interesting day is Mahāvrata, which is the last day but one in sattras. Harp with a hundred strings, brāhmaṇa and śūdra engage in praise and abuse of those engaged in sattra. Fight of ārya and śūdra for a white circular skin; abuse by harlot and brahmacārin of one another. Drums beaten on corners of vedi. Wives of sacrificers become choristers for chanting. Dance round mārjālīya by servants and slave-girls singing popular airs referring to cows. Sattras of a thousand years believed even by ancient writers to be mythical and Jaimini states that in such descriptions saṁvatsara means 'a day'.

Agnicayana (piling of the fire altar). This rite is the most complicated and recondite of all śrauta sacrifices. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is leading work on it. Fundamental conceptions underlying it are cosmological. Construction of fire altar in five layers is an aṅga of Somayāga. Five victims are first offered. Heads built up into altar. Clay for the bricks how brought, mixed and prepared. First brick called Aṣāḍhā prepared by wife of sacrificer. Ukhā (pan) prepared from same clay, from which he prepares three bricks called Viśvajyotis. Other bricks prepared. Description of the piling of the altar in five layers. Several forms of altar and of bricks. Bricks are of various sizes and have various names. Three bricks called svayamātṛṇṇāḥ. Ground measured and ploughed. Furrows sown with several corns. Several things such as a lotus leaf, golden ornament, golden image of a man are first placed, then a living tortoise is enveloped in moss and made motionless and then altar is constructed on it. Each of five layers contains 200 bricks according to Satyāṣāḍha, but others give larger numbers. Time required for piling varies. Peculiar mode of cooling altar. Numerous offerings. Procedure of Somayāga followed with a few variations. Observances for a year after *cayana*.

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WORKS CONSULTED

(with references to editions &c.)

N. B. Works referred to only once or twice and most of those already set out on pp. 19n, 179n, 195n, 321n, 624n, 713n have been omitted.

TEXTS

Vedic Saṁhitās

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TABLE OF CASES CITED

Amrit *v.* Hari 865n.
Annaji *v.* Narayan 914
Asita Mohan *v.* Nirode Mohan 75
Aunjona Dasi *v.* Prahlada Chandra 538

Bai Diwali *v.* Moti 503
Bai Gulab *v.* Jivanlal 452n.
Bai Jivi *v.* Narsingh 570
Bai Kashi *v.* Jamnadas 452n.
Bai Lakshmi *v.* Kaliangsing 452n.
Bai Nagubai *v.* Bai Monghibai 639
Bai Premkunwar *v.* Bhika 570
Bai Ramkore *v.* Jamnadas 502
Balgir *v.* Dhondgir 952
Bhikubai *v.* Hariba 586n.
Bholanath *v.* Emperor 75
Bhupatinath *v.* Ram Lal 911
Binda *v.* Kaunsilya 570
Budansa *v.* Fatma 621n.

Chintaman *v.* Dhondo 913–914
Chunilal *v.* Surajram 525n.
Collector of Thana *v.* Hari 860n.

Deosaran Bharthi *v.* Deoki Bharthi 892
Dular Koer *v.* Dwarkanath 570

Emperor *v.* Narayan 164

Fanindra Deb *v.* Rajeshwar 389

Ghelabhai *v.* Hargovan 860n.
Girijanund Datta Jha *v.* Sailajanund Datta 910
Gitabai *v.* Shivbakas 952
Giyana Sambandha *v.* Kandasami Tambiran 908
Gosain Ram Bharti *v.* Mahant Surajbharti 962
Government of Bombay *v.* Ganga 621n.
Guru Govind Shaha Mandal *v.* Anand Lal Ghose 474

Hari Raghunath *v.* Anant 916
Harischandra *v.* Atir Muhmud 952
Hira *v.* Hansji Pema 525n.
Hirabharthi *v.* Bai Javer 952
Honama *v.* Timannabhat 586n.

Indi *v.* Ghania 502
In Re Pyne 888n.
In the matter of Ram Kumari 621n.
Ishwari Prasad *v.* Rai Hari Prasad 75

Jiwani *v.* Mula Ram 502

Kailasan Pillai *v.* Nataraja 908
Kailasnath *v.* Parasakthi 525n.
Kali Kanta Chatterji *v.* Surendra 916
Keshav *v.* Bai Gandhi 616n.
Khushalchand *v.* Bai Mani 503

Lakshmibai *v.* Ramchandra 586

Madhusudan Parvat *v.* Shree Madhava Teertha 950
Maharaja of Kolhapur *v.* Sundaram Ayyar 382
Morice *v.* The Bishop of Durham 888
Motilal *v.* Chanchal 553
Mulchand *v.* Budhia 538
Munnilal *v.* Shiama 252n.
Muthusami *v.* Masilamani 179

Nalinaksha *v.* Rajanikanto 452n.
Natha *v.* Mehta Chotalal 452n.

Padma Kumari *v.* Suraj Kumari 452n.
Paigi *v.* Sheo Narain 570
Parami *v.* Mahadevi 573n.
Pramatha Nath Mullick *v.* Pradyumna Kumar Mullick 735, 911n., 916
Prosunno Kumari *v.* Golabchand 911n., 915n.
Queen Empress *v.* Tippa 904n.

Rajah Muthu Ramlinga *v.* Periyanayagum Pillai 914
Ramangavda *v.* Shivaji 467
Rambrahma Chatterji *v.* Kedar Nath 735
Ramchandra *v.* Gopal 469

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Ranganaiki *v.* Ramanuja 502
Ravji *v.* Dadaji 865n.
Reg. *v.* Jaili Bhavin 904n.
Reg. *v.* Karsan Goja 616n.
Reg. *v.* Sambhu 616n.
Sammantha Pandara *v.* Sellappa Chetti 903
Sardar Singh *v.* Kunj Behari 889n.
Shamcharan Nandi *v.* Abhiram Goswami 914
Sohan Sing *v.* Kabla Singh 179
Somasundaram *v.* Vaithilinga 952
Subrao *v.* Radha 75, 382
Thakur Indraj Bux *v.* Thakur Sheo Naresh 889n.
Tulshiram *v.* Bihari Lal 75
Vaman *v.* Collector of Thana 865n.
Vellanki Ramakrishna *v.* Kotagiri Subbamma 468
Venkatacharyulu *v.* Rangacharyulu 538
Vidyapurna Tirtha *v.* Vidyanidhi Tirtha 908
Vidyashankara *v* Vidya Narsinha 950
Virasami *v.* Appasami 553
Vyakunta Bapuji *v.* Government of Bombay 869n.
Yamunabai *v.* Narayan 570
A. I. R. 1930 Oudh 426 525n.
6 Bom. 24 888
14 Bom. 482 888
15 Bom. 612 216n.
17 Bom. 351 888
23 Bom. 725 888
12 Cal. 140 539
1 Mad. 164 904n.
7 Mad. 548 462
12 Mad. 72 525n.
15 Mad. 41 904n.
15 Mad. 75 904n.
20 Mad. 283 469
30 Mad. 340 888
43 Mad. 830 469
42 Madras Law Journal 621
3 Moo. I. A. 198 950
17 Patna 134 525n.

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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

VOLUME II

CHAPTER I

THE TOPICS OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

Manifold are the topics that have been included under Dharmaśāstra from very ancient times. The Dharma-sūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha deal in greater or less detail principally with the following subjects: the several *varṇas* (classes), *āśramas* (stages of life), their privileges, obligations and responsibilities; the *saṁskāras* performed on an individual (from *garbhādhāna* to *antyeṣṭi*); the duties of the *brahmacārin* (the first āśrama); *anadhyāyas* (holidays on which Vedic study was stopped); the duties of a *snātaka* (one who has finished the first stage of life); *vivāha* (marriage) and all matters connected therewith; the duties of the *gṛhastha* (house-holder's stage); *śauca* (daily purification of body); the five daily *yajñas*; *dāna* (gifts); *bhakṣyābhakṣya* (what food should one partake of and what not); *śuddhi* (purification of persons, vessels, clothes &c.); *āśauca* (impurity on birth and death); *antyeṣṭi* (rites on death); *śrāddha* (rites performed for the deceased ancestors and relatives); *strīdharma* (special duties of women) and *strīpuṁdharma* (duties of husband and wife); *dharmas* of *kṣatriyas* and of kings; *vyavahāra* (judicial procedure, and the sphere of substantive law such as crimes and punishments, contracts, partition and inheritance, adoption, gambling &c.); the four principal classes, mixed castes and their proper avocations; *āpaddharma* (actions and avocations permitted to the several castes in extreme difficulties); *prāyaścitta* (sins and how to expiate them); *karmavipāka* (results of evil deeds done in past lives); *śānti* (rites on the happening of portents or for propitiating the planets &c.); duties of *vānaprastha* (forest hermit) and *saṁnyāsin* (ascetic). All these subjects are not treated in any fixed or settled order in the sūtra works. To take only one example, the subject of partition and inheritance occurs at the end of the dharmasūtra of Gautama, while Vasiṣṭha places the same subject in the middle of his work (17th chapter) and Āpastamba deals with those topics after finishing

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three-fourths of his work (in II. 6. 14). Further, some works on *dharmaśāstra* give very elaborate treatment of certain topics of which only faint traces are found in the ancient dharmasūtras and metrical smṛtis. Such topics are *vratas* (which may be looked upon as extensions of the subject of gifts), *utsarga* and *pratiṣṭhā* (dedication of works of public utility and of temples and shrines), *tīrtha* (sacred places and pilgrimages to them), *kāla* (auspicious times, festivals &c.).

A glance at the above list will convince anyone how the conception of dharma was a far-reaching one, how it embraced the whole life of man. The writers on dharmaśāstra meant by *dharma* not a creed or religion but a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated a man's work and activities as a member of society and as an individual and was intended to bring about the gradual development of a man and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence.

From this standpoint various divisions of *dharma* were suggested. Dharma was divided into *śrauta* and *smārta*. The first comprised those rites and ceremonies with which the Vedic *Saṁhitās* and Brāhmaṇas were chiefly concerned, such as consecration of the three sacred fires, the Full moon and New moon sacrifices, the solemn *soma* rites &c. The *smārta* comprised those topics that were specially dealt with by the smṛtis and that concerned the various classes and stages of life.[1] The present work will concern itself principally with *smārta dharma* and *śrauta dharma* will be dealt with concisely in an appendix. Some works divide *dharma* into *śrauta* (Vedic), *smārta* (based upon smṛtis) and *śiṣṭācāra* (the actions of the respected in society)[2]. This classification is based on the three sources of *dharma* viz., *śruti*, *smṛti* and *śiṣṭācāra*, as observed by Baudhāyana.[3] Another and more comprehensive classification says that *dharma* is sixfold, viz. dharma of varṇas (injunctions based on *varṇa* alone such as 'a brāhmaṇa should never drink wine' or 'a brāhmaṇa should not be killed'), *āśramadharma*

1. दाराग्निहोत्रसंम्बन्धमिज्या श्रौतस्य लक्षणम् । स्मार्तो वर्णाश्रमाचारो यमैश्च नियमैर्युतः ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 144. 30–31; वायुपुराण 59. 31–32 and 39; 'अन्त्याधानादिपूर्वकोऽधीतप्रत्यक्षवेदमूलो दर्शपूर्णमासादिः श्रौतः । अनुमितपरोक्षशाखामूलः शौचाचमनादिः स्मार्तः ।॥ परा. मा. I. part 1 p. 64.

2. वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मः स्मृतिशास्त्रगतोऽपरः । शिष्टाचीर्णः परः प्रोक्तस्त्रयो धर्माः सनातनाः॥ अनुशासनपर्व 141. 65; वनपर्व 207. 83 'वेदोक्तः ..... धर्मशास्त्रेषु चापरः । शिष्टाचारश्च शिष्टानां त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥'; *vide* शान्ति 354. 6 also.

3. उपदिष्टो धर्मः प्रतिवेदम् । ... स्मार्तो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः शिष्टागमः । चौ. ध.सू. I. 1. 1–4.

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(such rules as 'begging' and 'carrying a staff' enjoined on a brahmacārī'), *varṇāśrama-dharma* (rules of conduct enjoined on a man because he belongs to a particular class and is in a particular stage of life, such as 'a brāhmaṇa *brahmacārī* should carry a staff of *palāśa* tree'), *guṇadharma* (such as protection of subjects in the case of a crowned king), *naimittika* dharma (such as expiation on doing what is forbidden), *sādhāraṇa dharma* (what is common to all humanity viz., *ahiṁsā* and other virtues).[4] This classification appears to have been an ancient one. Medhātithi on Manu II. 25 speaks of fivefold dharma (only omitting *sādhāraṇa dharma* from the abovementioned six) and quotes the explanations of them from the expounders of smṛtis. Hemādri (vrata-khaṇḍa p. 5) quotes 16 verses from the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa on the six-fold dharma.[5] It will be noticed from the above that all matters (except *sādhāraṇa* or *sāmānya* dharma) have *varṇa* and *āśrama* as the pivots round which the whole of dharmaśāstra revolves. It is therefore that in ancient smṛtis like those of Manu (I. 2 and 107) and Yājñavalkya (I. 1) the sages are represented as asking the great expounders of those codes to impart to them instruction in the dharmas of *varṇas* and *āśramas*.

Before embarking upon any treatment of varṇas it would not be out of place to say a few words about dharmas common to all humanity. Our dharmaśāstra works do not enter into any subtle or detailed examination of the principles of ethics or of the moral standard, nor are the concepts of duty, happiness or perfection subjected to any searching analysis[6]. But

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4. इह पञ्चप्रकारो धर्म इति विवरणकाराः प्रपञ्चयन्ति। मेधा० on मनु II. 25; अत्र च धर्मशब्दः षड्विधस्मार्तधर्मविषयः। तद्यथा–वर्णधर्म आश्रमधर्मो वर्णाश्रमधर्मो गुणधर्मो निमित्तधर्मः साधारणधर्मश्चेति। मिताक्षरा on या. I. 1.

5. Kullūka on Manu II. 25 and the Kṛtyaratnākara pp. 9–10 do the same. It is to be noted that some of these very verses are quoted as from Sumantu by the Smṛticandrikā. (I p. 6).

6. Reference may be made to the 'Ethics of India' by Prof. Hopkins (1924) and 'Hindu Ethics' by Dr. John McKenzie in 'Religious quest of India' series. The former work is marked by a detached and fair attitude towards the ideas of the ancient Indians and their writings. The latter, I am sorry to say, is marred by the unsympathetic and supercilious attitude of a Christian missionary. Its key-note is perverse inasmuch as the foundation of the author's criticism is the notion that one is not really moral unless one is engaged in active social service. There is very little warrant for

(*Continued on next page*)

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this does not at all mean that the principles of ethics were passed over by dharmaśāstra works or were not highly thought of by them. From very ancient times truth is exalted above everything else. Ṛgveda VII. 104. 12 says[7] 'True speech and

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(*Continued from last page*)

this hypothesis in well-known works on Ethics. To expose the fallacies in Principal McKenzie's work would require a volume. But a few words must be said here. What particular brand of active social service the learned author has in view is difficult to follow. I would like to make him a present of the following lines from the Encyclopædia Britannica on Social Service 'The term social service is a comparatively new one in Great Britain. If it had been used previous to the 20th century it would have meant philanthropy and charity in the ordinary sense'. If the learned author means that ancient India never insisted on universal philanthropy and charity, he has read the Indian Literature in vain. Every house-holder was called upon by the Hindu Śāstras to offer food according to his ability to students, ascetics and to all beings including the untouchable cāṇḍālas and even dogs and crows. Every brāhmaṇa who could teach had to do so without demanding any fee beforehand. *Maths* were established in all parts of India for expounding religious books, feeding students and the poor. There are *annasatras* even now where hundreds are fed every day. No necessity arose throughout the ages for a Poor Law in India with its attendant evils well portrayed in Dickens' famous master-piece 'Oliver Twist'. The above were some of the different aspects of philanthropy and charity which are now dubbed social service. In the third century B. C. Aśoka had established hospitals not only for men but even for beasts and Yāj. 1.209 equates the free nursing of sick persons with gifts of cows. The learned Professor asks with an air of triumph and condemnation of all Indian morality (p. 251) 'Is there anything comparable to the movement which St. Francis of Assisi initiated and led?' The learned Professor has fallen into the frequent error of comparing a movement of the 13th century with Indian ideas over 2000 years old. Again I shall quote words from the Encyclopædia Britannica. 'It would be an anachronism to think of Francis as a philanthropist or social worker or a revivalist preacher, though he fulfilled the functions of all these. Before every thing he was an ascetic and mystic'. The particular brands of Social Service that are now in vogue are mainly due to the ravages of Imperialism and extreme capitalistic tendencies. Besides he forgets that even the movement started by St. Francis had schisms and was guilty of all the moral evils that are associated with Western monastic institutions. Vide the recent and lucid book of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer on 'Evolution of Hindu moral ideals' (1935, Calcutta University).

7. सुविज्ञानं चिकितुषे जनाय सच्चासच्च वचसी पस्पृधाते । तयोर्यत्सत्यं यतरदृजीयस्तदित्सोमोवति हन्त्यसत् ॥ ऋ. VII. 104. 12.

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false speech run a race against each other. Soma protects out of the two what is true and what is very straight-forward and strikes down what is false'. The conception of *ṛta* in the Ṛgveda is a sublime one and is the germ of the later doctrine of the rule of dharma. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 85) enjoins 'therefore let a man speak naught but truth'[8]. In the Taittirīyopaniṣad (I. II. 1), the teacher when taking leave of his pupil at the end of the latter's studenthood places truth in the forefront of his exhortation and dharma next.[9] In the Chāndogya (III. 17) there is an allegory of a Soma sacrifice on life, where the dakṣiṇā (fee to be paid) is fivefold viz. the five virtues of tapas (asceticism), dāna (charity), ārjava (straightforwardness), ahiṁsā (non-injury to sentient beings), satyavacana (truthfulness). The Bṛ. Up. remarks that truth and dharma are in practical life identical terms.[10] One of the noblest prayers in all literature occurs in the Bṛ. Up. (I. 3.28) 'from falsehood lead me unto truth, from darkness lead me unto light, from death lead me unto immortality'. The Muṇḍakopaniṣad says 'only truth is victorious and not falsehood; the path of the gods is spread out by (the pursuit of) truth'. The Bṛ. Up. inculcates on all the great need of three cardinal virtues, viz. self-restraint, *dayā* (compassion or love for all sentient life) and dāna (gifts or charity).[11] The Chān. Up. says that the world of Brahman is free from all evil and only those who have lived as chaste students can enter the world of *brahma*. The Chān. Up. V. 10 sternly condemns five sins, viz. theft of gold, drinking spirits, murder of a brāhmaṇa, defiling of one's guru's bed and association with these, as the greatest sins and in V. 11. 5 Aśvapati exultantly declares that in his kingdom there were no grave sinners. The Kaṭhopaniṣad (I. 2.23) insists[12] upon cessation from evil

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8. Compare शतपथब्रा. I. 1. 1. 1. 'अमेध्यो वै पुरुषो यदनृतं वदति' and I. 1. 1. 5. 'स वै सत्यमेव वदेत्'.

9. वेदमनूच्याचार्योऽन्तेवासिनमनुशास्ति। सत्यं वद। धर्मं चर। तै. उ. I. 11. 1.

10. तस्मात्सत्यं वदन्तमाहुर्धर्मं वदतीति धर्मं वा वदन्तं सत्यं वदतीत्येतदूध्येवैतदुभयं भवति। बृह. उ. I. 4. 14.; तदेतानि जपेदसतो मा सद्गमय तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमयेति। बृह. उ. I. 3. 28.

11. तस्मादेतत्त्रयं शिक्षेद्दमं दानं दयामिति। बृह. उ. V. 2. 3.

12. नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः। नाशान्तमानसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात्॥ कठोप. I. 2. 23; vide also I. 3.7 and मैत्री उप. III. 5 for a list of qualities of darkness which the student of a high and sublime philosophy has to avoid.

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conduct, peace of mind and concentration as essential for the seeker after the Self. The Udyogaparva 43.20ff. speaks of the twelve *vratas* (vows or rules of conduct) for brāhmaṇas and verses 22-25 describe at great length the characteristics of one who is dānta (self-controlled). Śānti 160 contains an eulogy of *dama* (self-control). Śānti 162.7 describes how *satya* has 13 aspects and verse 21 says that non-injury to all beings in thought, word and deed, good will and charity are the eternal dharma of the good.[13] The Gautama-dharmasūtra (VIII. 24-26) holds that *dayā* (compassion or love for all beings), *kṣānti* (forebearance), *anasūyā* (freedom from envy), *śauca* (purity of body, speech and thought), *anāyāsa* (absence of painful efforts or ambitions), *maṅgala* (doing what is commended), *akārpaṇya* (not demeaning oneself before others), *aspṛhā* (not hankering after sensual pleasures or the possessions of others)[14] are the qualities of the soul and remarks that the person who has these eight qualities realizes non-difference from Brahma and reaches the world of Brahma, though he may not have all the other forty *saṁskāras*, while he who has all the forty saṁskāras but is not possessed of these eight qualities does not reach the world of Brahma.[15] Vasiṣṭha (X. 30) says that avoiding back-biting, jealousy, pride, egoism, unbelief, crookedness, self-praise, abuse of others, deceit, covetousness, delusion, anger and envy is the dharma of all āśramas and further (XXX. 1) he delivers a fine exhortation 'practise dharma (righteousness) and not adharma; speak the truth and not untruth; look far ahead, not

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13. अद्रोहः सर्वभूतेषु कर्मणा मनसा गिरा । अनुग्रहश्च दानं च सतां धर्मः सनातनः ॥ शान्तिपर्व 162. 21.

14. अथाष्टावात्मगुणाः । दया सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरनसूया शौचमनायासो मङ्गलमकार्पण्यमस्पृहेति । गौ. ध. सू. VIII. 23-24. Haradatta quotes eight verses which explain these eight qualities. Atri (verses 34-41) also defines these eight similarly but in different words. Aparārka (pp. 164–165), Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13), Hemādri (Vrata p. 8) and Parāśaramādhavīya I. part 1 p. 84 quote from Bṛhaspati eight verses defining these eight qualities, which closely resemble Atri's. Vide Matsya 52.8–10 for these eight qualities and Vāyu 59.40–49, Mārkaṇḍeya 61.66 for saying that dayā (love for beings) is at the top of the eight ātmaguṇas and 28.31–32 for a slightly different enumeration of the eight. Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 8.35-37) says that these eight mentioned by Gautama (तितिक्षा being substituted for क्षान्ति) and three more namely नाभिमानिता, सत्य, and प्रियवादिता are common to all varṇas. Vide वसिष्ठ VI. 3 आचारहीनं न पुनन्ति वेदाः.

15. Smṛticandrikā (I. p. 13) quotes verses of Śaṅkha to the same effect.

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near; look at what is highest, not at what is not highest'. Āpastamba Dh. S. (I. 8. 23. 3–6) calls upon all āśramas to eradicate faults that tend to destruction and to cultivate the opposite virtues (and gives long lists of both). This shows that in the scale of values mere performance of sacrifices and purificatory and other religious ceremonies ranked according to Gautama and other writers very low and the highest value attached to the moral qualities of the soul. There is no elaborate discussion of the questions as to why a man should tell the truth or abstain from *hiṁsā* (injury to sentient beings) and cultivate other high moral qualities. But it should not be supposed that no indications whatever are given of the reasons why this should be done. Two principles emerge if we closely examine the texts. In the midst of countless rules of outward conduct there is always insistence on the necessity to satisfy the inner man (āntara-puruṣa) or conscience. Manu IV. 161 says 'assiduously do that which will give satisfaction to the antarātman' (inner self); IV. 239 says 'No parents, nor wife nor sons will be a man's friends in the next world; but only righteousness.' 'Gods and the inner man mark the sinful acts' Vanaparva 207·54 and Manu VIII. 85, 91–92. Vide also Ādiparva 74. 28–29, Manu VIII. 86, Anuśāsana 2. 73–74. The reason given for cultivating such virtues as *dayā, ahiṁsā* is based upon the philosophical doctrine of the one Self being immanent in every individual as said in the words 'tat tvam-asi'. This is the highest point reached in Indian metaphysics and combines morality and metaphysics. That doctrine requires us to regard the goodness or badness of one's actions from the standpoint of other individuals who will be affected by such actions. Dakṣa (III. 22) declares [16] 'one who desires happiness should look upon another just as he looks upon himself. Happiness and misery affect one's self and others in the same way'. Devala says that the quintessence of dharma is that one should not do to others what would be disliked by one's self.[17] There-

16. यथैवात्मा परस्तद्वद्द्रष्टव्यः सुखमिच्छता । सुखदुःखानि तुल्यानि यथात्मनि तथा परे ॥ दक्ष III. 22.

17. श्रूयतां धर्मसर्वस्वं श्रुत्वा चैवावधार्यताम् । आत्मनः प्रतिकूलानि परेषां न समाचरेत् ॥ देवल quoted in कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 17. Compare आपस्तम्बस्मृति X. 12 'आत्मवत्सर्वभूतानि यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥'; अनुशासनपर्व 113. 8–9 न तत्परस्य संदध्यात् प्रतिकूलं यदात्मनः । एष संक्षेपतो धर्मः कामादन्यः प्रवर्तते ॥ प्रत्याख्याने च दाने च सुखदुःखे प्रियाप्रिये । आत्मौपम्येन पुरुषः प्रमाणमधिगच्छति ॥; शान्ति 260. 20 and 25 यदन्यैर्विहितं नेच्छेदात्मनः कर्म पूरुषः । न तत्परेषु कुर्वीत जानन्नप्रियमात्मनः ॥ सर्वे प्रियाभ्युपगतं धर्मं प्राहुर्मनीषिणः ।

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fore our texts lay down two seats of authority in morals viz., the revealed truth (śruti) that 'All this is brahma' and the inner light of conscience. Another reason for cultivating high moral qualities is found in the doctrine of the goals or ends of human existence (*puruṣārtha*). From very ancient times they are said to be four, dharma (right conduct), artha (economic interests), kāma (satisfaction of sexual, emotional and artistic life), mokṣa (liberation of the spirit). The last is said to be the supreme end and to be attained only by the few and the vast majority can only place it as an ideal to be attained in the most distant future. As regards the other three, there is a gradation of values. *Kāma* is the lowest of all and only fools regard it as the only end.[18] The Mahābhārata says: 'A wise man tries to secure all three, but if all three cannot be attained, he secures dharma and artha or only dharma if he has a choice of only one from among the three. A man of middling discipline prefers artha to the other two; dharma is the source of both artha and kāma.' The dharmaśāstra writers did not condemn kāma altogether, they recognise that kāma has a place as a motive urging men to be active but they assigned it a low place. They recognised that a man shares with lower beings the impulses and emotions of sex, but that the satisfaction of these impulses is of lower values than the moral and spiritual ends proper for a developed human personality and therefore insist that it should be subordinated to *artha* and *dharma*. Gautama (IX. 46–47) says 'one should not allow the morning, midday and evening to remain fruitless so far as dharma, artha and kāma are concerned. But among these three one should attach most importance to dharma.' Yāj. I. 115 says practically the same thing. Āp. Dh. S. (II. 8. 20. 22–23) declares that 'a man should enjoy all such pleasures as are not opposed to

18. त्रिवर्गयुक्तः प्राज्ञानामारम्भो भरतर्षभ । धर्मार्थावनुरुध्यन्ते त्रिवर्गासंभवे नराः ॥ पृथक्त्वविनिविष्टानां धर्मे धीरोऽनुरुध्यते । मध्यमोर्थे कलिं बालः काममेवानुरुध्यते ॥...कामार्थौ लिप्समानस्तु धर्ममेवादितश्चरेत् । नहि धर्मादपैत्यर्थः कामो वापि कदाचन । उपायं धर्ममेवाहुस्त्रिवर्गस्य विशांपते । उद्योगपर्व । 124. 34–38; vide शान्तिपर्व 167.8–9 for the statement that *dharma* is the best, *artha* is middling and *kāma* is the lowest and that a man should so act that dharma would be the principal goal of his life and that he should so deal with others as he would deal with himself 'तस्माद्धर्मप्रधानेन भवितव्यं यतात्मना । तथा च सर्वभूतेषु वर्तितव्यं यथात्मनि ॥.' The महाभारत winds up with the words ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येष न च कश्चिच्छृणोति माम् । धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥ स्वर्गारोह० 5.62; vide also शल्य 60.22, द्रोण 151.37.

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dharma. In this way one secures both worlds'.[19] In the Bhagavadgītā (VII. 11) Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with *kāma* that is not opposed to dharma. Kauṭilya says[20] 'one may enjoy *kāma* provided there is no conflict with dharma and artha, one should not lead a life of no pleasures' and then true to his role of a writer on arthaśāstra, he proclaims that his own opinion is that *artha* is the principal of the three, as *dharma* and *kāma* both spring from *artha*.' Manu (II. 224)[21] after setting out several views about which of the three is principal states it as his own opinion that one should strive for all the three, but adds that if *artha* or *kāma* is in conflict with *dharma* one should give up artha or kāma as the case may be. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (71. 84) and Bhāgavata I. 2. 9 say the same. The Kāmasūtra[22] of Vātsyāyana defines the three and says that out of dharma, artha and kāma each preceding one is superior to each following one and that to the king artha should be the highest goal. This teaching shows that there are proximate ends or motives and ultimate ends or motives, that the ultimate ends are really the most valuable and that the whole teaching of dharmaśāstra points to this that all higher life demands discipline both of body and mind and requires the subjection of lower aims to aims of higher value. Manu II. 4 (like Aristotle in the first sentence of his Politics) says that the end of all activity is some presumed good. Manu further says (V. 56) that the natural proclivity of all beings is to hanker after the satisfaction of the common and lower desires of hunger, thirst and sexual gratification and therefore no stress is to be placed on them but on the cessation or curbing of these. The Upaniṣads[23] recognise the

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19. भोक्ता च धर्माविरुद्धान् भोगान् । एवमुभौ लोकावभिजयति । आप. ध. II. 8. 20. 22–23.

20. अर्थशास्त्र I. 7 'धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न निःसुखः स्यात् । ..... अर्थ एव प्रधान इति कौटिल्यः । अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति ।'

21. धर्मार्थावुच्यते श्रेयः कामार्थौ धर्म एव च । अर्थ एवेह वा श्रेयस्त्रिवर्ग इति तु स्थितिः ॥ मनु II. 224; परित्यजेदर्थकामौ यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ । मनु IV. 176; compare विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 71.84 'धर्मविरुद्धौ चार्थकामौ (परिहरेत्) ।'; अनुशासन 111.18–19 'धर्मश्चार्थश्च कामश्च त्रितयं जीविते फलम् । एतच्चयमवाप्तव्यमधर्मपरिवर्जितम् ' ॥ ; विष्णुपुराण III. 11. 7 परित्यजेदर्थकामौ धर्मपीडाकरौ नृप । धर्ममप्यसुखोदर्कं लोकविद्विष्टमेव च ॥

22. अलौकिकत्वाददृष्टार्थत्वात् अप्रवृत्तानां यज्ञादीनां शास्त्रात्प्रवर्तनं लौकिकत्वाद् दृष्टार्थत्वाच्च प्रवृत्तेभ्यश्च मांसभक्षणादिभ्यः शास्त्रादेव निवारणं धर्मः । ...विद्याभूमिहिरण्यपशुधान्यभाण्डोपस्कर-मित्रादीनामर्जनमर्जितस्य विवर्धनमर्थः । ...श्रोत्रत्वक्चक्षुर्जिह्वाघ्राणानामात्मसंयुक्तेन मनसाधिष्ठितानां स्वेषु स्वेषु विषयेष्वानुकूल्यतः प्रवृत्तिः कामः । तेषां समवाये पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान् । अर्थश्च राज्ञः । कामसूत्र I. 2.7–15.

23. त्वमेव वृणीष्व यं त्वं मनुष्याय हिततमं मन्यस इति । कौषीतकि ब्रा. उ. III. 1.

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distinction between what is beneficial (*hita*) and what is most beneficial (*hitatama*). Śāntiparva (288. 20 and 330. 13) declares that what conduces to the greatest good of beings is 'satya.'

The Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 1. remarks that *ahiṁsā* and other qualities are the dharmas common to all including even cāṇḍālas. The qualities are variously enumerated and emphasis is laid upon different lists in different works. Śaṅkhasmṛti (I. 5) says that forbearance, truthfulness, self-restraint and purity are common to all varṇas. The Mahābhārata says that three are the best qualities among all beings viz., absence of enmity, truthfulness and freedom from anger[24] and in another place says that the best *vrata* (vow) for a man is threefold viz., he should feel no enmity (to others), should give and should speak the truth. Vasiṣṭha (IV. 4) says[25] that truthfulness, freedom from anger, generosity, *ahiṁsā* (non-injury) and procreation of offspring are (the common dharma) of all (varṇas). Gautama (X. 52) says that even the Śūdra has to submit himself to the dharma of truthfulness, freedom from anger and purity (of body and mind). Manu says that *ahiṁsā*, truthfulness, no wrongful taking of another's possessions, purity and restraint of senses are in brief the common dharmas of all varṇas.[26] Manu (IV. 175) calls upon all to take delight in truth, in dharma, in conduct worthy of an ārya and in purity. In the 3rd century B. C. the remarkable emperor Aśoka inscribed on stone in all parts of his empire the following list of virtues: compassion, liberality, truth, purity gentleness, peace, joyousness, saintliness, self-control; which bear a close resemblance to Gautama's list and even to a later list of St. Paul (vide Pillar Edicts II and VII in E. I. vol. II p. 249 and p. 272). Yāj. (I. 122) mentions nine qualities as the means of securing dharma for all (from the brāhmaṇa to the cāṇḍāla[27]). The Mahābhārata says that freedom from anger, truthfulness, sharing one's wealth

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24. एतद्धि त्रितयं श्रेष्ठं सर्वभूतेषु भारत । निर्वैरता महाराज सत्यमक्रोध एव च ॥ आश्रमवासिपर्व 28.9; त्रीण्येव तु पदान्याहुः पुरुषस्योत्तमं व्रतम् । न द्रुह्येच्चैव दद्याच्च सत्यं चैव परं वदेत् ॥ अनुशासन 120.10.

25. सर्वेषां सत्यमक्रोधो दानमहिंसा प्रजननं च । वसिष्ठ IV. 4; vide वसिष्ठ X. 30 for 13 qualities prescribed for all āśramas.

26. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । एतं सामासिकं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्येऽब्रवीन्मनुः ॥ मनु X. 63; vide मनु VI. 62 for ten guṇas prescribed for all āśramas.

27. अहिंसा.....न्द्रियसंयमः । दमः क्षमार्जवं दानं सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ या. I. 122; vide या. III. 66.

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with others, forbearance, procreation (of children) from one's wife (alone), purity, absence of enmity, straight-forwardness, maintaining persons dependent on one-self—these nine are the duties of all varṇas.[28] The Vāmanapurāṇa says that tenfold dharma is common to all and names these ten as *ahiṁsā, satya, asteya, dāna,* forbearance, restraint, quiescence, not demeaning oneself, purity, tapas.[29] Hemādri (vratakhaṇḍa pp. 7–8) quotes several passages from the Brahma, Brahmavaivarta and Viṣṇudharmottara for several sādhāraṇa dharmas (virtues common to all varṇas and āśramas). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra enumerates fourteen qualities as sāmānya-dharma.[30]

The foregoing discussion establishes that all dharmaśāstra writers attached the highest importance to moral qualities and enjoined them upon all with all the emphasis they could command; but as their main purpose was a practical one, viz., to guide people to right acts in everyday life, they dealt more elaborately with the acts, rites and ceremonies that each person had to do with reference to his station in society. They are therefore found principally concerning themselves with varṇāśrama dharma and not with *sādhāraṇa dharma* (i. e. duties common to all alike).

Āryāvarta — One important question that is very much canvassed in works on dharmaśāstra is about the country or territory which should be called *āryāvarta* or which was a fit habitation for those who called themselves the followers of the Vedic religion. Therefore a few words on this subject would be quite relevant. The Ṛgveda shows that the centre of Āryan culture in the times of the Ṛgveda was the land of the seven

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28. अक्रोधः सत्यवचनं संविभागः क्षमा तथा । प्रजनः स्वेषु दारेषु शौचमद्रोह एव च । आर्जवं भृत्यभरणं नवैते सार्ववर्णिकाः ॥ शान्ति. 60. 7–8.

29. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं दानं क्षान्तिर्दमः शमः । अकार्पण्यं च शौचं च तपश्च रजनीचर । दशाङ्गो राक्षसश्रेष्ठ धर्मोऽसौ सार्ववर्णिकः ॥ वामनपुराण 14. 1–2 ; ब्रह्मपुराण 114. 16–18 prescribes the following as common to all varṇas and āśramas. ' दया समस्तभूतेषु तितिक्षा नाभिमानिता । सत्यं शौचमनायासो मङ्गलं प्रियवादिता । मैत्री चैवास्पृहा तद्वदकार्पण्यं द्विजोत्तमाः । अनसूया च सामान्या वर्णानां कथिता गुणाः ॥ आश्रमाणां च सर्वेषामेते सामान्यलक्षणाः ' ।.

30. क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः । अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया । आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम् । अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II. 16–17 ; compare आप. ध. सू. I. 8. 23.6 for a long list of qualities prescribed for all āśramas and शान्तिपर्व 297. 24–25 for 13 साधारणधर्मs ' आनृशंस्यमहिंसा च प्रमादः (प्रसादः ?) संविभागिता । श्राद्धकर्मातिथेयं च सत्यमक्रोध एव च ॥ स्वेषु दारेषु संतोषः शौचं नित्यानसूयता । आत्मज्ञानं तितिक्षा च धर्माः साधारणा नृप ॥

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rivers, viz. North-west India and Punjab. We find that the rivers from Kubhā (the Kabul river, in Ṛg. V. 53. 9; x. 76. 6), Krumu (the modern Kurram, Ṛg. V. 53. 9, X. 75. 6), Suvāstu (modern Swat, in Ṛg. VIII. 19. 37), the seven Sindhus (Ṛg. II. 12. 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, X. 43. 3) up to the Yamunā (Ṛg. V. 52. 17, X. 75. 5), the Ganges (Ṛg. VI. 45. 31, X. 75. 5) and Sarayu (probably in modern Oudh, in Ṛg. IV. 30. 18 and V. 53. 9) figure in the Ṛgveda. Among the rivers of the Punjab the following are individually mentioned:— Sindhu (Ṛg. II. 15. 6 'he made the Sindhu flow northwards', Ṛg. V. 53. 9, Ṛg. IV. 30. 12, Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25 where reference is made to the medicine in the Sindhu, in the Asiknī, in the seas and on mountains), Asiknī (Ṛg. VIII. 20. 25, X. 75. 5), Parusṇī (Ṛg. IV. 22. 2, V. 52. 9), Vipāś and Śutudri (Ṛg. III. 33. 1 where their confluence is spoken of), Vipāś alone in Ṛg. IV. 30. 12, Śutudri alone in Ṛg. X. 75. 5, Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī (as very holy in Ṛg. III. 23. 4), Sarasvatī alone (Ṛg. VII. 95, the whole hymn is addressed to it of which verse 2 says it springs from the mountains; Ṛg. VI. 61 is another hymn addressed to it, v. 10 of which says it has seven sisters), Gomatī (Ṛg. VIII. 24. 30, X. 75. 6), Vitastā (Ṛg. X. 75. 5). Gradually the Āryans spread southwards and eastwards. The Kāṭhaka S. X. 6 speaks of Kuru-Pañcālas. In the Brāhmaṇas the centre of Āryan activities and culture shifted to the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas and Kosala-Videhas. For example, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa remarks that in the lands of Kurupañcālas speech is at its best.[31] In Śat. Br. XI. 4. 1. 1 Uddālaka Āruṇi is called a Kuru-Pañcāla brāhmaṇa and contrasted with brāhmaṇas of the north (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 51). Similarly the Kauṣītaki-br. (VII. 6) remarks[32] that those who want to learn (best) speech go northwards or wait upon him who comes from that direction. In the Śatapatha we have the story of Videgha Māṭhava who went beyond the country of Kosala-Videha, crossed the river Sadānīrā that came down from the Himālaya, and settled to the east of that river, where the country was a cultivated and civilized one in the times of that work, while in former ages it had been uncultivated (I. 4. 1. 4–17, S. B. E. vol. 12 pp. 105–106;). Even in the Buddhist

31. तस्मादुत्तराहि वाग्वदति कुरुपञ्चालजा। शतपथ ब्रा. III. 2. 3. 15. Vide S. B. E. vol. 12 p. XLII *n.* 1 and vol. 26 p. 50 for various interpretations.

32. तस्माद्उदीच्यां दिशि प्रज्ञाततरा वाग्उद्यत उदृञ्च उ एव यन्ति वाचं शिक्षितुं यो वा तत आगच्छति तस्य वा शुश्रूषन्ते। कौषीतकि ब्रा. VII. 6,

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Jātakas we see that being an 'udicca brāhmaṇo' was a source of great pride (vide Fick's work p. 40). The Tai. Br. speaks of the *vedi* of the gods as being in Kuru-kṣetra.[33] Even in the Ṛgveda itself the country through which the rivers Dṛṣadvatī, Āpayā and Sarasvatī flowed is spoken of as the best spot (vide III. 23. 4). The Tai. Br. says that the Kurupañcālas go east in the winter and westwards in the last month of summer. In the times of the Upaniṣads also the Kurupañcāla country appears to have occupied a pre-eminent place. The Bṛ. Up. (III. 1. 1.) says that when Janaka, king of Videha, performed a sacrifice the brāhmaṇas of Kurupañcāla flocked there in large numbers. *Vide* also Bṛ. Up. III. 9. 19. The Bṛ. Up. VI. 2. 1 and Chāndogya V. 3. 1 say that Śvetaketu went to the assembly of the Pañcālas. Kauṣītaki Br. Up. (IV. 1.) names the countries of Uśīnara, Matsya, Kurupañcāla and Kāśivideha as centres of intellectual activity and in II. 13 refers to two mountains one in the North and the other in the South (meaning probably Himavat and Vindhya). According to the Nirukta (II. 2), the country of Kamboja was outside the limits of the country of Āryas, though the language spoken there seems to have been the same. The Mahābhāṣya lends support to this and adds that Surāṣṭra was not an Ārya country (vol. 1, p. 9). In the times of the Dharmasūtras great divergence of opinion prevailed on the question of the location of Āryāvarta. The Vasiṣṭha-dharma[34]-sūtra says, ' Āryāvarta is to the east of the disappearance (of Sarasvatī in the desert), to the west of Kālakavana, to the north of the mountains Pāriyātra and Vindhya and to the south of the Himālaya '. It then refers to two more views held by other authors viz., ' Āryāvarta is in the region between the Ganges and the Jumna ' and ' where the black antelope roams about there is spiritual pre-eminence '. The Baud. D. S. (I. 1.27) gives the same limits of Āryāvarta as Vasiṣṭha,

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33. देवा वै सत्रमासत । ..... तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रे वेदिरासीत् । तै. ब्रा. V. 1. 1; नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इळायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम् । दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥ ऋ. III. 23. 4 ; for Kurukṣetra as a very ancient place *vide* Śatapatha IV. 1. 5. 13 and Ait. Br. (chap. 35. kh. 4) ; आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपति । तस्माच्छिशिरे कुरुपञ्चालाः प्राञ्चो यन्ति । ..... तस्माज्जघन्ये नैदाघे प्रत्यञ्चः कुरुपञ्चाला यन्ति । तै. ब्रा. I. 8. 5.

34. आर्यावर्तः प्रागादर्शात्प्रत्यक् कालकवनादुदक्पारियात्राद्दक्षिणेन हिमवतः । उत्तरेण च विन्ध्यस्य । ... गङ्गायमुनयोरन्तरेप्येके । यावद्वा कृष्णमृगो विचरति तावद्ब्रह्मवर्चसमित्यन्ये । वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र I. 8-9 and 12-13.

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substituting the word 'vinaśana' for 'ādarśa'.[35] Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya defines Āryāvarta several times in the same terms as Vasiṣṭha does.[36] The Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita gives somewhat similar limits by remarking 'spotless spiritual pre-eminence is to be found (in the country) to the east of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvīra, to the west of the city of Kāmpilī, to the south of Himālaya and to the north of Pāriyātra'.[37] The extant Manusmṛti (II. 22) makes Āryāvarta coterminos with the whole of India north of the Vindhya by saying that the territory between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and extending up to the eastern and western oceans is known by the wise as Āryāvarta. The second view (viz. Āryāvarta is the region between the Ganges and the Jumna) occurs in Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1.28). In the Tai. Ār. II.20 special honour is shown to those who dwell between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The third view (viz. *Āryāvarta* is the country where the black antelope roams about naturally) is the one given in most smṛtis. Both Vasiṣṭha (I. 14–15) and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 29-30) quote an ancient *gāthā* from the Nidāna work of the Bhāllavins[38] to the effect that wherever the black antelope roams about in the country lying between the Sindhu in the west and the rising mountain in the east, there is spiritual pre-eminence. So this view is a very ancient one and probably

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35. प्राग्विनशनात् प्रत्यक् कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदक्पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्तं तस्मिन्य आचारः स प्रमाणम्। वौ. ध. सू. I. 1.27. Even so early as the ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण we have the words सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते (24.17.1). This shows that the Sarasvatī had disappeared by the time of the ताण्ड्य. According to the Vanaparva 82. 111 Vinaśana is the tīrtha where the Sarasvatī disappeared and Vanaparva (130. 3-5) says that the Sarasvatī disappeared at the entrance of Niṣādarāṣṭra through fear of pollution from Niṣādas and Śalyaparva (37. 1-2) tells us that Vinaśana is the sacred place where the Sarasvatī disappeared through hatred for Śūdras and Ābhīras.

36. कः पुनरार्यावर्तः। प्रागादर्शात् प्रत्यक्कालकवनाद् दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुत्तरेण पारियात्रम्। महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 475 (on Pāṇ. II. 4.10), vol. III. p. 174 (on Pāṇ. VI. 3.109)

37. प्राक्सिन्धुसौवीरात् दक्षिणेन हिमवतः पश्चात्काम्पिल्या उदक् पारियात्रादनवद्यं ब्रह्मवर्चसम्। quoted in परिभाषाप्रकाश (वीरमित्रोदय p. 57).

38. अथापि भाल्लविनो निदाने गाथामुदाहरन्ति। पश्चात्सिन्धुर्विधारणी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः। यावत्कृष्णोभिधावति तावद्वै ब्रह्मवर्चसम्। इति। वसिष्ठ I. 14–15. Viśvarūpa reads 'विहरणी' and explains it as 'where the sun sets', while विधारणी may mean 'dividing line, boundary'. परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 57 reads वितरणी and explains वितरणी जनकपर्वतसमीपे मालवदेशे परशुरामेण धनुष्कोट्या कुण्डं भित्त्वा निर्मितेति जनप्रसिद्धा।

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arose from some mythological account as is indicated by the commentary of Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I.2 which quotes a prose passage of the Śvetāśvataras 'Sacrifice became a black antelope and wandered over the earth; *dharma* followed it in its wanderings'. This view of the limits of Āryāvarta is maintained by Śaṅkha (as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 2), Viṣṇudharmasūtra 84.4, Manu II. 23, Yāj. I. 2, Saṁvarta 4, Laghu-Hārīta (I. p. 178), Veda-Vyāsa (I. 3), Bṛhat-Parāśara (p. 56) and several other smṛtis. The Manusmṛti (II. 17-24) defines Brahmāvarta as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī,[39] says that the traditional mode of conduct observed in that country is called *sadācāra*, that the countries of Kurukṣetra, Matsya, Pañcāla and Śūrasena are styled Brahmarṣideśa and are slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta, that Madhyadeśa is between the Himālaya and the Vindhya and to the east of Vinaśana and to the west of Prayāga, that Āryāvarta is the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya up to the eastern and western oceans, that that territory where the black antelope roams about naturally is the country fit for sacrifices and the countries beyond constitute *mlecchadeśa*, that men of the three higher varṇas should endeavour to live in these countries (viz. Brahmāvarta, Brahmarṣideśa, Madhyadeśa, Āryāvarta &c.) while a śūdra, when distressed for his livelihood, may stay in any country whatever. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (84. 4) says that the country where the system of the four varṇas is not established is to be known as Mleccha country and Āryāvarta is beyond that. This is explained by Aparārka (p. 5) as follows: one who desires to practise Vedic religion should live in one of the four countries viz. Brahmāvarta and others; if that is not possible, then in a country where there is establishment of the four varṇas and the black antelope roams about naturally; if both these cannot be had, then one should dwell in a country where at least one of the two (*cāturvarṇya* and black antelope) is found. The above discussion shows that in very ancient times the country south of the Vindhya was looked upon as beyond the pale of Aryan culture. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 1. 31) says that the countries of Avanti, Aṅga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Upāvṛt, Sindhu

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39. *Vide* Tāṇḍya Br. 25. 10. 13–14 for Dṛṣadvatī falling into the Sarasvatī and 25. 10. 16 for the disappearance of the latter and Ait. Br. (chap. 38 kh. 3) for Kuru-Pañcāla, Vaśa and Uśīnara as included in the centre of India.

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and Sauvīra are of mixed origin (i. e. not of pure Āryan ancestry), that a person who goes to Āraṭṭaka, Kāraskara, Puṇḍra, Sauvīra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Prānūna (?) has to offer a solemn sacrifice like the Sarvapṛṣṭha and that for going to Kaliṅga the prāyaścitta is an offering to Vaiśvānara Agni. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 292 quotes a verse of Devala to the effect that if a man goes to Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāṣṭra, the border lands (or Mleccha countries), Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Andhra he has to perform the Upanayana saṁskāra over again.[40] The Mit. adds a remark that this is so only if the man goes to these countries for some purpose other than pilgrimage. Gradually however as Āryan culture spread over the whole of what is now called India the view of the sages about the countries pre-eminently Āryan had to be given up. Medhātithi on Manu II. 22 explains that Āryāvarta is so called 'because Āryas again and again spring up there and because the Mlecchas even if they overrun it from time to time do not abide there for long' and then makes the following very sensible observation (on II. 23) 'if a kṣatriya king of excellent conduct were to conquer the Mlecchas, establish the system of four varṇas (in the Mleccha country) and assign to Mlecchas a position similar to that of cāṇḍālas in Āryāvarta, even that (Mleccha) country would be fit for the performance of sacrifices, since the earth is not by itself impure, but becomes impure through contact (of impure persons or things).'[41] As a result of the spread of Āryan culture eastwards and southwards and the frequent invasions of non-Āryan tribes on the north-west, the countries on the rivers of the Punjab came to be looked upon in the whirligig of time as unworthy of the Āryas to live in. Karṇaparva 43. 5–8 abuses those who live on the Sindhu and the five rivers of the Punjab as impure and *dharmabāhya*.[42]

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40. सिन्धुसौवीरसौराङ्गांस्तथा प्रत्यन्तवासिनः । अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गान्ध्रान् गत्वा संस्कारमर्हति ।. This is Devala v. 16 with slight variations in the 3rd *pāda*. It is ascribed to Baudhāyana in the Smṛticandrikā I. p. 9.

41. आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनरुद्भवन्त्याक्रम्याक्रम्यापि न चिरं तत्र म्लेच्छाः स्थातारो भवन्ति । मेधा० on मनु II. 22; यदि कश्चित्क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छान्पराजयेत चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेत् , म्लेच्छांश्चार्यावर्त इव चाण्डालान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोपि स्याद्यज्ञियः, यतो भूमिर्न स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गाद्धि सा दुष्यति । मेधा. on मनु II. 23.

42. पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः । तान् धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन् वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 43. 7 ; कर्ण० 44. 31–34 calls these countries Āraṭṭas and 'naṣṭadharma'. Vide पञ्च नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र निःसृत्य पर्वतात् । आरट्टा नाम वाहीका न तेष्वार्यो द्वयहं वसेत् ॥ कारस्करान्माहिषकान् कालिङ्गान्केरलांस्तथा । कर्कोटकान्वीरकांश्च दुर्धर्मांश्च विवर्जयेत् ॥ कर्णपर्व 44. 40 and 43.

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Another word which is very often used, particularly in the Purāṇas, to denote the territory where the ancient Vedic religion prevails is Bharatavarṣa or Bhāratavarṣa. It occurs in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela (2nd century B. C.) as Bharadhavasa.[43] The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa says that Bharatavarṣa has the ocean on the east, south and west and the Himālaya on the north.[44] The Viṣṇupurāṇa (II. 3.1) says the same and Matsya (114·10) and Vāyu define Bharatavarṣa as stretching from Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges.[45] Śabara (not later than 5th century A. D.) in his bhāṣya on Jaimini (X. 1·35 and 42) shows that to him there was unity of language and culture from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin.[46] Paiṭhinasi as quoted in the Paribhāṣā-prakāśa (p. 58) says that dharma is fully developed (lit. four-legged) in the country from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin.[47] According to Mārkaṇḍeya (53·41), Vāyu (vol. I chap. 33·52) and other Purāṇas Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, son of Ṛṣabha, descendant of Svāyambhuva Manu; while Vāyu (vol. II. chap. 37·130) appears to strike a different note by saying that Bharatavarṣa is so called after Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. The Viṣṇupurāṇa says that after thousands of births a person secures life as a human being in Bharatavarṣa and this land is called *Karmabhūmi* (the land of religious actions) for those who want to secure heaven and final liberation.[48] The Vāyupurāṇa says almost the same and adds that in no land other than Bharatavarṣa is *karma* prescribed for mortals. It is somewhat amusing to find that

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43. Vide E. I. vol. 20 p. 79.

44. दक्षिणापरतो ह्यस्य पूर्वेण च महोदधिः । हिमवान्नुत्तरेणास्य कार्मुकस्य यथा गुणः ॥ तदेतद्भारतं वर्षं । मार्कण्डेय 57.59.

45. उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् । वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संततिः ॥ विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 1; वायु vol. I, 45. 75-76 उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमवद्दक्षिणं च यत् । वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा । ; मत्स्य 114. 10 आयतस्तु कुमारीतो गङ्गायाः प्रवहावधिः (प्रभवावधिः?); compare with the last वायुपुराण vol. 1, 45. 81 'आयतो ह्या कुमारिक्यादागङ्गाप्रभवाच्च वै ।'.

46. 'प्रसिद्धश्च स्थाल्यां चरुशब्दः आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः' on जैमिनि X. 1. 35 and 'ओदने हि चरुशब्दः प्रसिद्ध आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः' on जैमिनि X. 1.42.

47. पैठीनसिः । आ हिमवत आ च कुमार्याः सिन्धुर्वैतरणी नदी सूर्यस्योदयनं पुरः यावद्वा कृष्णमृगो विचरति तत्र धर्मश्चतुष्पादो भवतीति । परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 58.

48. कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम् । विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 2; vide Wilson's Viṣṇupurāṇa vol. II. pp. 105-106 ; ततः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यश्चान्तश्च गम्यते । न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां भूमौ कर्म विधीयते ॥ वायु 45. 77 ; विष्णुपुराण II. 3. 5.

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many of the countries of India that in modern times pride themselves on being most orthodox are declared by the Āditya-purāṇa (as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā) to be countries unfit for habitation and to be such that a stay in them except for pilgrimage entailed loss of caste and prāyaścittas.[49] The Ādipurāṇa (Ādityapurāṇa?) as quoted in the Paribhāṣāprakāśa (p. 59) says 'no one, whether a dvija or not, born in Āryāvarta should cross the three rivers, Sindhu, Karmadā (i. e. Karmanāśā) or Karatoyā except on a pilgrimage' and that if he does so, he should perform the penance of cāndrāyaṇa.

All smṛti writers and commentators generally restrict themselves to the duties of varṇas and āśramas as practised in Āryāvarta or Bharatavarṣa, though in very rare cases (as in Yāj. II. 192) they provide for the observance of the usages of even heretics.

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49. काञ्चीकाश्यपसौराष्ट्रदेवराष्ट्रान्ध्रमत्स्यजाः। कावेरी कोङ्कणा हूणास्ते देशा निन्दिता भृशम् ॥ पञ्चनद्यो...वसेत् ॥ (same verse as in n. 42)...सौराष्ट्रसिन्धुसौवीरमावन्त्यं दक्षिणापथम्। गत्वैतान् कामतो देशान् कलिङ्गांश्च पतेद्द्विजः ॥ स्मृतिच० I. p. 9 quoting आदित्यपुराण; आदिपुराणे-आर्यावर्तसमुत्पन्नो द्विजो वा यदि वाऽद्विजः। कर्मदां सिन्धुपारं च करतोयां न लङ्घयेत्। आर्यावर्तमतिक्रम्य विना तीर्थक्रियां द्विजः। आज्ञां चैव तथा पित्रोरैन्दवेन विशुध्यति ॥ परिभाषाप्रकाश p. 59.

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CHAPTER II

VARṆA

The number of works dealing with the origin and characteristics of the caste system in India is legion. Most of them, however, concern themselves with the detailed description of the bewildering variety of castes and subdivisions of castes in modern times and their present religious and social customs and usages. The origin of caste has given rise to great speculation and several schools of thought have arisen. Generally individual authors lay undue emphasis on one element or attach far too much importance to one point in tracing the origin of the caste system and its ramifications, such as race (Risley), tribe (Ibbetson), occupation (Nesfield). The study of the origin and development of caste in India is one of deep and absorbing interest to all students of sociology. A complete and critical examination of the several theories of caste advanced by distinguished authors and a detailed description of the hundreds of castes and subcastes now found in India is far beyond the scope of the present work. For those who want to make a thorough study of the most important works on caste a modest list is given in the footnote below.[50]

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50. J. N. Bhattacharya's 'Hindu castes and sects' (1896); E. A. H. Blunt's 'Caste system of Northern India' (1931); W. Crooke's 'Tribes and castes of N. W. Provinces and Oudh' 4 Vol. (1896); N. K. Dutt's 'Origin and growth of caste in India' (1931) and 'Aryanization of India' (1925); R. E. Enthoven's 'Tribes and castes of Bombay' 3 Vol. (1920); R. Fick's 'Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time,' translation by Dr. S. K. Maitra 1920 (deals only with the Buddhist Jātaka materials); Dr. Ghurye's 'Caste and race in India' (1932); Ibbetson's 'Punjab castes' (1881, reprint in 1916); S. V. Ketkar's 'History of caste in India' 2 Vol. (1909 and 1911); Kitt's 'Compendium of castes found in India' (1885); Nesfield's 'A brief review of the caste system of the North-west Provinces and Oudh' (1885); O'Malley's 'Indian caste customs' (1932) and 'India's social heritage' (1934); Hayavadan Rao's 'Indian Caste system' (1934); Risley's 'Tribes and castes of Bengal' 1891 (mostly anthropometric data) and 'People of India' 2nd ed. 1915; R. V. Russell's 'Tribes and castes of Central

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The caste system has been highly eulogised and also most severely condemned by Western writers. Sidney Low in his 'Vision of India' (pp. 262–263, 2nd ed. of 1907) speaks of the beneficent aspect of the caste system in the following eloquent passage 'There is no doubt that it is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced up for centuries against the shocks of politics and the cataclysms of Nature. It provides every man with his place, his career, his occupation, his circle of friends. It makes him at the outset a member of a corporate body, it protects him through life from the canker of social jealousy and unfulfilled aspirations; it ensures him companionship and a sense of community with others in like case with himself. The caste organization is to the Hindu his club, his trade union, his benefit society, his philanthropic society. There are no work-houses in India and none are as yet needed.' Abbe Dubois, who wrote about 130 years ago after being in close touch with Hindus of all castes for 15 years as a missionary, remarks (in his work on the character, manners and customs of the people of India, translated into English and published in London in 1817) 'I consider the institution of castes among the Hindu nations as the happiest effort of their legislation; and I am well convinced that, if the people of India never sunk into a state of barbarism, and if, when almost all Europe was plunged in that dreary gulf, India kept up her head, preserved and extended the sciences, the arts and civilization, it is wholly to the distinction of castes that she is indebted for that high celebrity' (p. 14) and he devotes several pages to the justification of this remark. Maine in his 'Ancient

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Provinces' 4 volumes (1916); Emile Senart's 'Les caste dans l'Inde' (1896) translated by Sir E. Ross (1936); M. A. Sherring's 'Hindu Tribes and Castes' 3 volumes (1872–1881); G. Slater's 'Dravidian element in Hindu culture' (1914); Steele's 'Law and customs of Hindu castes' (1868); Thurston and Rangachari's 'Caste and Tribes of South India' 7 volumes (1909); John Wilson's 'Indian castes' 2 vol. (1877); 'Mysore Tribes and castes' by S. V. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, vol. I–IV with several hundred illustrations. Besides these there are numerous papers published in Journals such as Weber's in 'Indische Studien' vol. X pp. 1–160 (very exhaustive as to Vedic material); Dr. Ghurye's on 'Ethnic theory of caste' in 'Man in India' vol. IV (1924) pp. 209–271.

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Law' (new edition of 1930 p. 17) characterises it as 'the most disastrous and blighting of all human institutions.' Sherring in 'Hindu tribes and castes' vol. III p. 293 says 'it is the most baneful, hard-hearted and cruel social system that could possibly be invented for damning the human race'. On the other hand Meredith Townsend in 'Europe and Asia' (edition of 1901 p. 72) wrote 'I firmly believe caste to be a marvellous discovery, a form of socialism which through ages protected Hindu Society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life — it is an automatic poor law to begin with and the strongest form known of Trades Union'. There are others,[51] though their number is small, that believe

51. E. g. Sherring in his 'Hindu Tribes and castes' vol. III p. 274 says 'It has been said with some truth that caste promotes cleanliness and order and is in a certain sense a bond of union among all classes of the Hindu community. Yet surely these ends might have been attained in a simpler manner and by a less antagonistic process. *The invention of a project* so wonderfully elaborate and intricate — a project of bringing into absolute subjection two hundred millions of the human species by robbing them of their independence, ... the invention of a project like this, so prodigious and far-reaching was not needed to accomplish such useful and beneficent ends. That another and very different object was in view from the very first is abundantly manifest. This object was neither more nor less than to exalt the Brahman, to feed his pride and to minister to his self-will.' Equally sweeping condemnation can be and has been indulged in as regards feudalism and modern capitalism. Fick (p. 331) entirely scouts the idea that the theory of castes was invented by the priests. There are several fallacies lurking in the above quoted passage of Sherring. In the first place, there is nothing to show that the caste system was invented by any body of persons who could impose their will on a continent. The system simply grew up in the lapse of ages. The population of Hindus when Sherring wrote may have been near two hundred millions, but it could not have been more than a small fraction of that colossal number during the thousands of years that the system has flourished. Besides writers like Sherring pass over the great achievements of Indians under the caste system in Literature, religion and philosophy, in handicrafts and in the fine arts and unduly exaggerate the defects of the system that have become glaring only in the machine-made civilization of the 19th and 20th centuries. These critics ignore the great adaptability of the system, whereby it preserved Indian society from social anarchy during ages of foreign invasions and internecine wars. While severely condemning the brāhmaṇas the critics altogether forget that the vast and varied Sanskrit Literature owes its production and preservation mostly to the sacrifice of the brāhmaṇas for ages. Under the caste

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that the caste system was an invention, an artificial product, due to the machinations of crafty brāhmaṇas. Every great institution has its extremes of good or evil. This work will endeavour to steer clear of downright and hypercritical condemnation of the caste system due to relying on modern standpoints and conditions of society and unthinking adulation thereof. It will try to present and balance facts and though it cannot help passing judgments it will leave the reader free to judge for himself as far as possible. In the present work the discussion will be mostly confined to the evidence of Sanskrit literary monuments, ancient and medieval. An attempt will be made to trace the origin of caste from Vedic times, to exhibit theories of the Dharmasūtrakāras, other smṛtikāras and commentators on the subject and to describe the peculiar ceremonies, privileges, duties and responsibilities of Hindu castes as gathered from these works in Sanskrit. To discuss the feasibility or desirability of totally destroying the caste system or the ways and means of attaining that end is deemed to be outside the legitimate limits of this volume. It may, however, be expressly stated as the author's opinion, in order to avoid misunderstandings or fruitless speculations about his personal views, that he does not think that the caste system was an artificial product due to the intrigues, greed and cunning of brāhmaṇas, nor does he hold that it is feasible to destroy the whole edifice of the caste system in the near future. In the cities we may find some people taking their food together but the real India is in the villages, where in spite of the loud denunciations of reformers for a hundred years, the restrictions on taking food and intercaste marriages are almost as rigid as they once were. Our efforts must be directed to wide and rapid spread of literacy among the village people, the diffusion of the idea of one people and one nationality and gradual fusion of small subcastes into larger similar units. We in India have no doubt reached a critical stage in our history when old ideals, institutions and

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system, no man was allowed to be useless to the commonwealth and his conduct was a question of honour with his group. When all work was turned out with the hands, the caste system tended to preserve and augment the skill of artisans. Moreover what social organization is to be substituted and how is not made clear by these critics. Most of these critics have the western social system based on wealth and the industrial revolution in view; but that system also is as evil as or perhaps worse than the modern caste system.

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habits are being shattered by the impact of new ideas and by the onrush of world forces. We have to decide whether we shall make or be able to make a clean sweep of all old ideals and institutions as so much debris and rubbish or whether while keeping the old ideals and some of the old institutions as foundations we shall build up a new social order and create and foster new habits of thought and action. It is beyond the scope of the present work to write more on this point.

A sort of caste system based on birth and occupation did prevail in many countries in ancient times as in Persia, Rome and Japan. But in all these countries it hardly ever made any near approach in rigour and complexity to the caste system that we have in India and instead of ramifying into divisions and subdivisions, it dwindled and disappeared in the course of time. No unanimity seems possible as to the several causes and circumstances which led in India alone to the evolution of the stupendous structure of caste. Not only is it impossible to hold that the origin of the modern complexity of the caste system is to be traced back to one single cause, but it is difficult to accept that even all the origins that have been postulated by the several authors can adequately and satisfactorily explain the modern caste system.

In most of the works on the castes in India a few features are pointed out as the characteristics of the caste system and as common to all castes and sub-castes. They are: (1) heredity i. e. in theory a man is assigned to a particular caste by birth in that caste; (2) endogamy and exogamy i. e. restriction as to marrying in the same caste and not marrying certain relatives or other persons, though of the same caste; (3) restrictions as to food (i. e. what food and water may be taken or not taken and from whom); (4) occupation (i. e. members of most castes follow certain occupations and no others); (5) gradation of castes, some being at the top in the social scale and others being deemed to be so low that they are untouchable. Some authors[52] like Senart add another characteristic, viz. the caste council with its chief having in meeting assembled among other matters the power to regulate the conduct of its members, to impose the penalties of fine or excommunication for lapses. It may be said at once that this last is a feature

52. Vide Senart's 'caste in India' tr. by Ross pp. 66–73 (1930). Fick pp. 36–37 holds that there were no caste councils and no caste chiefs

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that is not found among most of the brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya castes even in modern times and is not dealt with by dharmaśāstra works. Endogamy is now the most prominent characteristic of caste and so is the theory that it is by birth. The other three are more or less fluctuating from province to province and age to age. In this work the first five characteristics of the caste system set out above will be subjected to a close critical examination on the basis of the Vedic and dharmaśāstra material. We must also remember that the attributes of caste have not been the same throughout the ages. There is great difference between the popular conceptions of modern caste and the conceptions about it embodied in the ancient and medieval dharmaśāstra works. In the twentieth century caste in India is a matter of marriage and to a much lesser extent of food and drink. As to avocations any one can at present follow any profession without fear of loss of caste excepting a few believed to be very impure and very degrading ones (like those of sweepers, butchers, tanners &c.). It is also not possible even now for any one to be generally accepted as a priest, unless he is or claims to be a brāhmaṇa. The old barriers that separated one caste or subcaste from another have been greatly shaken by the influx of modern ideas and the exigencies of the times and one may hope that in a few decades more caste will remain as a purely social institution regulating marriages and to a lesser extent commensality (and not a religious one). Western scholars, in spite of their most commendable patience and industry, often present, through ignorance or lack of first-hand knowledge, the number of castes as larger than what it actually is. For example, Sherring (vol. II. Introduction pp. XXII-XLVI) gives an alphabetical list of brahmanical tribes and remarks (XLVII) 'Hundreds of these tribes, if not at enmity with one another, cherish mutual distrust and antipathy to such a degree that they are socially separated from one another as far as it is possible for them to be-as much as brāhmaṇas are from the lowest outcastes-neither eating nor drinking together nor intermarrying'. The list he gives is most misleading. To take only a few examples, he enumerates Athavle, Achwal, Abhyankara, Apte, Agashe, Bhanu, Bivalkar, Badye, Bhide, Bhagvat, Bhuskute, Bhat, Bodas as separate tribes; but it is well-known to people in Western India that these are the surnames (not subcastes) of the Koṅkaṇastha or Citpāvana brāhmaṇas, who not only interdine, but also inter-marry among themselves,

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provided there is no bar on the ground of sameness of *gotra* and *pravara*.

The word *varṇa* means 'colour' or 'light' in most passages of the Ṛgveda (e. g. I. 73.7, II. 3.5, IX. 97.15, IX. 104.4, IX. 105.4, X. 124.7). But in some verses of the Ṛgveda[53] the word *varṇa* is associated with groups of people having a skin of a dark or fair colour. For example, we read in Ṛg. II. 12.4 '(Indra) who placed low the *dāsa* colour in a cave (or darkness)'; in Ṛg. I. 179.6 'the fierce sage (Agastya) cherished both varṇas'; in Ṛg. IX. 71.2 'like one (a fighter) who strikes the people he (Soma) who is powerful goes giving out frequent roars; he exposes the Asura colour'; in Ṛg. I. 130.8 'Indra helped in battles the Ārya sacrificer..... Indra punished for the sake of Manu (the dāsas) who do not observe the ordinances and subdued (or killed) the dark skin'; 'Indra having killed the dasyus protected the ārya varṇa' (Ṛg. III. 34.9); 'You (Indra) subdued for Ṛjiśvan, the son of Vidathin, Pipru and powerful Mṛgaya; you mowed down fifty thousand dark (men), you shattered cities as old age does shatter good looks' Ṛg. IV. 16.13; 'Somas, which strike away the dark skin' Ṛg. IX. 41.1. In Ṛg. I. 158.5 a certain dāsa is called Traitana which name has a Persian ring about it; In Ṛg. I. 104.2 varṇa seems to be placed in opposition to dāsa. These passages make it clear that the Āryas and dāsas were two opposing camps and both were designated 'varṇas' on account of the colour of their skins. The Tai. Br. I. 2. 6 (with reference to the Mahāvrata in which there was a mock fight between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra) says 'that the brāhmaṇa is the divine varṇa, and śūdra is the *asurya varṇa*'.[54] If we can interpret the Ṛgveda verse by the help of the Tai. Br. then in Ṛg. IX. 71.2, the words 'asuryaṁ varṇam' mean 'śūdra tribe.'. There is no doubt that the word *asura* when applied to gods like Varuṇa has another meaning also in the Ṛg. In numerous places in the Ṛgveda the antagonism

53. यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहा कः। ऋ. II.12.4; उभौ वर्णावृषिरुग्रः पुपोष। ऋ. I.179.6. Here Sāyaṇa interprets 'varṇau' as 'kāma' and 'tapas,' but this is far-fetched and it appears better to take the passage as meaning that Agastya supported both Āryas and dāsas. The words cannot reasonably be taken to refer to Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya since there was no difference of colour between the two and since varṇas have been four and not two.

54. ब्राह्मणश्च शूद्रश्च चर्मकर्ते व्यायच्छेते। वैश्यो वै वर्णो ब्राह्मणः असुर्यः शूद्रः। तै. ब्रा. I. 2. 6.

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between the *āryas* and *dāsas* or *dasyus* is emphasized and prayers are offered to Indra and other gods for having subdued or for subduing the dāsa in favour of the Ārya. Ṛg. I. 51.8; I. 103.3; I. 117.21; II. 11.2, 4, 18, 19; III. 29.9; V. 70.3; VII. 5.6; IX. 88.4; VI. 18.3; VI. 25.2. In Ṛg. I. 51.8 Indra is requested to mark who are āryas and who are dasyus. This does not mean that there was difference between the two in bodily appearance only; on the contrary the antithesis between the ārya who is referred to as 'barhiṣmat' and the dasyu who is styled 'avrata' clearly shows that the emphasis was rather on the difference of their cults. That *dasyu* and *dāsa* are identical in meaning follows from the same epithets being applied to both and from the fact that dasyu and dāsa occur in the same verses as applying to the same enemy.[55] In Ṛg. X. 22.8 dasyu and dāsa are used in the same verse as applicable to the same enemy. In Ṛg. X. 99.6 and 8 Indra is represented as killing both dāsa and dasyu respectively. The dasyus are described as '*avrata*' (not obeying the ordinances of the gods) in Ṛg. I. 51.8, I. 175.3, VI. 14.3, 'akratu' (who perform no sacrifice) in VII. 6.3,[56] 'mṛdhravācaḥ' (whose speech is indistinct or soft) in VII. 6.3 and V. 29.10, 'anāsaḥ' (snub-nosed or dumb) in Ṛg. V. 29.10. It appears that dāsa and dasyu are synonyms and were sometimes styled asuras. For example, Śambara is called dasyu and dāsa in Ṛgveda VI. 31.4 and dāsa in Ṛg. VI. 26.5 and is also associated with asuras like Pipru in VI. 18.8; Pipru is spoken of as a dāsa in Ṛg. VIII. 32.2 and as an asura in X. 138.3. Varcin is styled dāsa in Ṛg. IV. 30.15 and VI. 47.21 and asura in VII. 99.5. In Tai. S.[57] (IV. 3.11.3) also it seems that they are held to be identical. The enmity between dāsa and ārya is breathed in such verses as the following: Ṛg. II. 11.4 'vanquish the tribe of dāsas by the sun (i. e. by the help of a brilliant weapon); Ṛg. I. 174.7 'You made the earth a pillow for the dāsa (i. e. you laid him low on the ground); Ṛg. III. 12.6 'Oh! Indra and Agni, by one effort together you shook ninety

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55. अकर्मा दस्युरभि नो अमन्तुरन्यव्रतो अमानुषः । त्वं तस्यामित्रहन् वधर्दासस्य दम्भय ॥ ऋ. X. 22.8.

56. न्यक्रतून् ग्रथिनो मृध्रवाचः पणीरश्रद्धाँ अवृधाँ अयज्ञान् । प्र ता न्दस्यूँरग्निर्विवाय पूर्वश्चकारापराँ अयज्यून् ॥ ऋ. VII. 6.3. This verse applies seven epithets to dasyus. They are called paṇis (greedy traders), अश्रद्ध (without faith). In Nirukta VI. 31 Yāska paraphrases मृध्रवाचः as मृदुवाचः. In Ṛg. V. 34. 6–7 the dāsa is styled paṇi.

57. तेन दस्यून व्यसहन्त देवा हन्तासुराणामभवच्छचीभिः । तै. सं. IV. 3.11.3.

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cities that had dāsas as overlords'. It is not possible to say that dāsas or dasyus were some Aryan tribes that had fallen from the worship or culture of the Aryan singers of Vedic hymns. In many places the sage refers to the conquest for him by Indra and other gods of dāsas as well as Aryan foes. For example, 'Protectors of the good! you (two) killed Aryan foes and dāsa foes' Ṛg. VI. 60·6; 'Oh Indra and Varuṇa! you killed dāsa foes and also Ārya foes and helped Sudās with your protection' Ṛg. VII. 83.1. Vide also Ṛg. VI. 22·10, X. 69·6, X. 83·1, X. 102·3. This shows that though the āryans had become divided and fought among themselves, they kept āryas and dāsas quite distinct. The foregoing shows that in the times of the Ṛgveda there were two antagonistic camps, of the āryas and dāsas or dasyus, they differred in the colour of their skins and also in worship, speech and bodily appearance. Therefore, in the earliest period we find the word varṇa associated only with dāsa and with ārya. Though the words brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya occur frequently in the Ṛgveda, the word varṇa is not used in connection with them. Even in the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛgveda X. 90) where the words brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya and śūdra occur the word varṇa is not used. Hence, one may reasonably say that the only water-tight groups that are positively or expressly vouchsafed by the Ṛgveda are ārya and dāsa or dasyu. It is often argued that as the word brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature, in the Ṛgveda also it must be presumed to have the same meaning. But this begs the whole question. No one denies that brāhmaṇa denotes a caste in later literature. But whether it has the same sense in the Ṛgveda must be determined on the materials furnished by the Ṛgveda itself. Some rely on the word 'brahmaputra' in Ṛg. II. 43. 2 as showing that a brāhmaṇa became so only by birth in the Ṛgveda. But the verse begins by saying that 'you sing a Sāma like the Udgātṛ priest' and so 'brahmaputra' must mean a ṛtvij whose duty it was to recite *śastras* (the Brāhmaṇācchaṁsin as Sāyaṇa explains). It is generally conceded that the Puruṣasūkta is a much later hymn than most of the hymns of the Ṛgveda. In the whole of the Ṛgveda the words vaiśya and śūdra do not occur except in the Puruṣasūkta, though both of them occur in the Atharvaveda (V. 17·9 for vaiśya and IV. 20. 4 and 8 for śūdra and ārya) and very frequently in the Tai. S. Besides we cannot forget that the final redaction of the Ṛgveda must be held to have been separated from the composition of the individual hymns by several hundred years (if not more) and that even if it be conceded

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that at the time when the Puruṣasūkta was composed, the four varṇas had been constituted and had become castes, yet the same cannot be affirmed for the time of the original composition of the other hymns. The word brāhmaṇa occurs several times in the Ṛgveda:[58] 'Oh brāhmaṇas, Oh pitṛs fond of soma! May the sinless Dyāvāpṛthivī (Heaven and Earth) tend to our welfare'; 'Like brāhmaṇas in the Atirātra where soma is to be drunk, utterring (words) round a lake full of water you have, Oh frogs, gathered together on that day of the year on which the rains begin' (Ṛg. VII. 103. 7);[59] 'The brāhmaṇas, who drink soma, reciting prayers of the yearly sacrifice, have sent forth their speech' (Ṛg. VII. 103. 8). In this verse brāhmaṇas are expressly said to be getting 'brahma' ready. 'May Agni who devours everything make that (dead body) free from disease and (may) soma also (do the same) who entered into the brāhmaṇas' (Ṛg. X. 16. 6). 'When the brāhmaṇas worship together as friends in hymns (lit. speed of the mind) that are fabricated from their hearts' (Ṛg. X. 71. 8). In Ṛg. VI. 75. 10 brāhmaṇas are invoked for welfare along with pitṛs. This shows that the brāhmaṇas were highly venerated. The other verses establish that they were the reciters of hymns (brahma) and drank soma. In Ṛg. VIII. 35. 16–18 we read 'You (Aśvins) urge on (or inspire) brahma, you urge on our thoughts (or actions), you kill the evil spirits and subdue diseases; (17) you urge kṣatra (valour) and also men, you kill evil spirits (same as 16); (18) you urge on the cows and also the Viś (the rest is same as 16).' Here it seems that the groups of people (viz. those who think and make songs, those who show valour and lead men, and those common people who tend cattle) are clearly meant. These verses may be conceded as pointing to the existence of three groups (brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and viśaḥ) but there is nothing in them to show that these three had crystallised into somewhat like the castes of later times. In Ṛg. VII. 33. 11 Vasiṣṭha is addressed as brahman, but that does not mean that he was a brāhmaṇa (by birth), as he is said to have been born of Urvaśī from Mitra and Varuṇa. Similarly, in

58. ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः शिवे नो द्यावापृथिवी अनेहसा । ऋ. VI. 75.10.

59. ब्राह्मणासो अतिरात्रे न सोमे सरो न पूर्णमभितो वदन्तः । संवत्सरस्य तदहः परि ष्ठ यन्मण्डूकाः प्रावृषीणं बभूव ॥ ऋ. 7. 103. 7; ब्राह्मणासः सोमिनो वाचमक्रत ब्रह्म कृण्वन्तः परिवत्सरीणम् । ऋ. 7. 103. 8; अग्नेष्टद्विश्वादगदं कृणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणाँ आविवेश । ऋ. 10. 16. 6; हृदा तष्टेषु मनसो जवेषु यद्ब्राह्मणाः संयजन्ते सखायः । ऋ. X. 71. 8; चत्वारि वाक्परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ॥ ऋ. I. 164. 45.

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Ṛg. IX. 96. 6 (Brahmā devānām) the word brahmā[60] does not certainly mean 'brāhmaṇa by birth', nor does 'viprāṇām' mean 'brāhmaṇas by birth'. In that verse one who is supereminent among a group is specified, just as the buffalo among animals, the hawk among carnivorous birds &c. In Ṛg. VIII. 33. 19 'look down and not up; bring your feet close together; may thy kaśaplakas (legs?) be not seen, for though a brahmā, thou wert born a woman,' it is impossible to hold that the last words mean 'thou wert a brāhmaṇa woman'. If it is only intended to refer to the fact that she is a brāhmaṇa woman, there is no reason why the Perfect tense (babhūvitha) is used and not the present. Here 'brahmā' most probably means 'a priest of that name', as that is the meaning in Ṛg. II. I. 2 (brahmā cāsi gṛhapatiś-ca no dame). The word 'brahmajāyā' in Ṛg. X. 109. 2, 3, 6 and 7 does not mean the wife of a brāhmaṇa by birth but rather 'wife of Bṛhaspati'. The whole hymn is obscure and more or less enigmatic or allegorical. In the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa[61] 35. 2–4 it is said that soma is the food of brāhmaṇas and that a kṣatriya was to press the tendrils of the Nyagrodha tree and the fruits of Udumbara, Aśvattha and Plakṣa and drink the juice so pressed instead of soma. It appears, therefore, that the brāhmaṇas were a distinct group even in the earliest period of the Ṛgveda. Whether they were hereditary is certainly not clear; nor is there anything to show that there were restrictions as regards partaking of food from persons other than brāhmaṇas or as to marriage. That brāhmaṇas in the Ṛgveda were a class by themselves may be conceded, but whether they had become a caste by birth is a matter of opinion dependent on the connotation given to the word caste. Dr. Ghurye ('Caste and race in India' p. 42) thinks, probably following the Vedic Index (vol. I on Kṣatriya), that the reference in Ṛg. X. 71. 9 to a false claim for being regarded as a brāhmaṇa points to the conclusion that brāhmaṇas had become a caste. The verse literally translated means 'these (persons) who do not move below nor beyond, who are neither brāhmaṇas, nor engaged in pressing soma — they

60. ब्रह्मा देवानां पदवीः कवीनामृषिर्विप्राणां महिषो मृगाणाम् । श्येनो गृध्राणां स्वधितिर्वनानां सोमः पवित्रमत्येति रेभन् । ऋ. IX. 96.6; अधः पश्यस्व मोपरि संतरां पादकौ हर । मा ते कशप्लकौ दृशन् स्त्री हि ब्रह्मा बभूविथ ॥ ऋ. VIII. 33. 19.

61. व्यूद्धमेवाद्यापि क्षत्रं सोमपीथेन । ...स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां भक्षः । अथास्यैष स्वो भक्षो न्यग्रोधस्यावरोधाश्च फलानि चौदुम्बराणि चाश्वत्थानि प्लाक्षाण्याभिषुण्युयात् तानि भक्षयेत्सोऽस्य स्वो भक्षः । ऐ. ब्रा. 35. 2-4; vide पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र III. 5. 22, III. 5. 47-51, III. 6. 36 and Sabara's bhāṣya thereon for this subject.

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being ignorant and having resorted to speech in sinful (or coarse) language take to ploughshares and engage in (agricultural) operations'. It is difficult to see how there is here any false claim to be regarded as a brāhmaṇa. This verse means apparently that those who are not composers of prayers or drinkers of soma (because they are ignorant) are men of low speech and have to turn to agriculture. Even in the days of the dharma-sūtras restrictions as to food and marriage for brāhmaṇas were not at all as rigid as they became in medieval and modern times; but even when these restrictions were not rigid it was clearly laid down that a brāhmaṇa is so by birth alone. The word 'brahma' generally means in the Ṛgveda 'prayer' or 'hymn'. Vide[62] Ṛg. IV. 6.11, VI. 52.2, X. 105.8, X. 141.5 ('Oh Agni, make our prayer and sacrifice prosper by your flames'). Ṛg. III. 53.12 is 'this brahma (prayer or spiritual power) of Viśvāmitra protects the Bhārata people'. In the Atharvaveda II. 15.4 (as brahma and kṣatra entertain no fear, nor are they harmed) brahma seems to mean 'the class of brāhmaṇas'. The transition of meaning from 'brahma' (prayer) to 'brahma' meaning the class of those who composed or recited prayers is natural and easy. In the Ṛgveda I. 157.2 both brahma and kṣatra occur[63] in the same verse where they probably mean 'prayer' and 'valour' respectively. In the Atharvaveda III. 19.1 both words occur and probably mean the same thing as in Ṛg. I. 157.2. In some Vedic works *brahma* and *kṣatra* stand collectively for brāhmaṇas[64] and kṣatriyas (e. g. Tai. Br. II. 7.18, Bṛ. Up. I. 4.11, Kaṭhopaniṣad I. 2. 24). The word kṣatriya is very frequently applied as an epithet to several gods; e. g. Ṛg. VII. 64. 2 and VIII. 25. 8 (in both to Mitra and Varuṇa), Ṛg. VIII. 67. 1 (to Ādityas), Ṛg. X. 66.8 (to gods in general). In some verses kṣatriya means 'a king or a nobleman'; e. g. Ṛg. IV. 42.1 'the kingdom on both sides (heaven and earth) belongs to me, who am a kṣatriya and who holds sway over all living persons, so that all the immortals (gods) are ours (on my side)'; [65] Ṛg. X. 109.3

62. त्वं नो अग्ने अग्निभिर्ब्रह्म यज्ञं च वर्धय। ऋ. X. 141.5; विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम्। ऋ. III. 53. 12.

63. युयुज्राथे वृषणमश्विना रथं घृतेन नो मधुना क्षत्रमुक्षतम्। अस्माकं ब्रह्म पृतनासु जिन्वतं वयं धना शूरसाता भजेमहि॥ ऋ. I. 157.2.

64. ब्रह्म वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रं राजन्यः। तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

65. मम द्विता राष्ट्रं क्षत्रियस्य विश्वायोर्विश्वे अमृता यथा नः। ऋ. IV. 42.1. Acc. to the Anukramaṇī this is a hymn of king Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa.

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(=Atharva V. 17.3) 'the domain of the kṣatriya has been protected (from the sight of enemies)'. The word 'rājanya occurs in the Ṛgveda only in the Puruṣasūkta. It occurs in the sense of kṣatriya in the Atharvaveda V. 17.9. The same remark applies to the word kṣatriya as to brāhmaṇa. It is difficult to say whether kṣatriyas were so by birth in the times of the hymns of the Ṛg. or were only a class more or less fluid. We find that the Ṛg. speaks of Devāpi as the *purohita* of Śantanu who became a king. The story[66] is that both were sons of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa and that Śantanu, though a younger brother, became king as Devāpi was not willing to be a king. The result was a famine due to Śantanu's transgression and so Devāpi performed a sacrifice to induce rainfall. This shows that out of two brothers one became a king and the other a purohita. So kings and purohitas did not depend on birth. In Ṛg. IX. 112. 3 a poet exclaims 'I am a reciter of hymns my father is a physician and my mother grinds (corn) with stones. We desire to obtain wealth in various actions.'[67] In Ṛg. III. 44.5 the poet wistfully asks Indra 'O, Indra, fond of soma, would you make me the protector of people, or would you make me a king, would you make me a sage, that has drunk of soma, would you impart to me endless wealth?' This shows that the same man could be a ṛṣi or a noble or a king. Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 44) thinks that the kṣatriyas had become a compact body and he particularly relies on Ṛg. VII. 104. 13 (= Atharvaveda VIII. 4. 13) which is cited in the Vedic Index (vol. 1, p. 207) for the same purpose. That verse literally means 'Soma does not urge on the crooked one, nor the kṣatriya who bears false. He strikes the rakṣas, and strikes him who speaks falsely; both lie in the bonds of Indra'. The words 'kṣatriyam mithuyā dhārayantam' are explained by Sāyaṇa as 'Kṣatriya who bears false words'. The 2nd half is only an expansion of the first half and so 'vṛjina' corresponds to 'rakṣas' and 'asad vadantam' is only a paraphrase of 'mithuyā dhārayantam'. They may mean this that one who is a kṣatriya, but has no strength as a kṣatriya should have, is at

66. Vide Nirukta II. 10 for the story of Devāpi and Śantanu who were Kauravya brothers according to it.

67. कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना। नानाधियो वसूयवो अनु गा इव तस्थिम। ऋ. IX. 112.3. Kāru means here 'composer of hymns'; Viśvāmitra is addressed as kāru by the rivers in Ṛg. III. 33. 10 'आ ते कारो शृणवामा वचांसि'. Vide निरुक्त VI. 6 for कारुरहं.

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the mercy of Indra. Unless we project our notions of the later state of society and the caste system when considering this verse, it is hardly possible to hold that this verse indicates that it refers to persons making a false claim for entrance into a compact body of kṣatriyas by birth. Dr. Ghurye also says (p. 44) 'The 2nd order in society, the kṣatriya, is known in the earlier portions of the Ṛgveda as rājanya.' I have not been able to find the word rājanya in the Ṛgveda any where except in the Puruṣasūkta. In the Aitareya brāhmaṇa (chap. 34. 2) the word 'rājanya' stands for a member of the 2nd class in society, while kṣatriya means a king of whom land (for sacrifice to gods) is asked for by brāhmaṇa, rājanya or vaiśya.

Though the word vaiśya occurs in the Ṛgveda only in the Puruṣasūkta, the word 'viś' is very frequently employed in it. It generally means 'people or group of people'. In a large number of cases we have the words *mānuṣīr-viśaḥ* or mānuṣīṣu *vikṣu* or mānuṣīṇām viśām, e. g. Ṛg. III. 5. 3, III. 6. 3, III. 11. 5 (invincible Agni goes in front of human groups), IV. 6. 7 and 8, IV. 9. 2, V. 1. 9, V. 8. 3, VI. 48. 8, VI. 47. 16 (viśo mānuṣyān), X. I. 4, X. 69. 9. In some places we have 'dāsīr viśaḥ' (the dāsa hordes) e. g. IV. 28·4, VI. 25·2. In[68] Ṛg. III. 34·2 we have 'Oh Indra, you are the leader of human hordes as well as of divine hordes' (where we have daivīnām viśām). Ṛg.[69] VIII. 63·7 (when loud invocations were sent towards Indra by the people consisting of five groups) shows that 'viś' means all the Aryan people. In Ṛg. V. 32. 11 Indra is styled 'pāñcajanya' (favourable to the five people) and in IX. 66. 20 Agni has the appellation 'pāñcajanyaḥ purohitaḥ' (the *purohita* of the five peoples). Sometimes *jana* and *viś* seem to be contradistinguished as in Ṛg. II. 26. 3 (sa ij-janena sa viśā sa janmanā sa putrair-vājam bharate dhanā nṛbhiḥ). But the very fact that *viś* is qualified also as pāñcajanya shows that

68. इन्द्र क्षितीनामासि मानुषीणां विशां दैवीनामुत पूर्वयावा। ऋ. III. 34.2.

69. यत्पाञ्चजन्यया विशेन्द्र घोषा असृक्षत। ऋ. VIII. 63.7. Śaṁkara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 4. 12 says that the word pañcajana in Ṛg. VIII. 63 7 means 'prajā' (people) and also notes that according to some 'pañca janāḥ' are devas, pitṛs, asuras, gandharvas and rakṣases; while according to others they are the four varṇas and niṣādas as the fifth. The Ait. Br. (13. 7) gives an explanation of pañca janāḥ similar to the first 'पाञ्चजन्यं वा एतदुक्थं यद्वैश्वदेवं सर्वेषां वा एतत्पञ्चजनानामुक्थं देवमनुष्याणां गन्धर्वाप्सरसां सर्पाणां च पितॄणां च'. The Nirukta (III. 8) in explaining Ṛg. X. 53. 4 remarks about pañca janāḥ. 'गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके। चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चम इत्यौपमन्यवः।'

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there was hardly any distinction between jana and viś. In the Ṛgveda frequent reference is made to five people (pañca janāḥ); vide Ṛg. III. 37. 9, III. 59. 7, VI. 11. 4, VIII. 32. 22, X. 65. 23, X. 45. 6. In the same way the words kṛṣṭi (II. 2. 10, IV. 38. 10), kṣiti (V. 35. 2, VI. 48. 7, VII. 75. 4), carṣaṇi (V. 86. 2, VII. 15. 2) are employed along with *pañca*. We have also 'pāñcajanyāsu kṛṣṭiṣu' in Ṛg. III. 53·16. So it is clear that *viś* cannot in almost all hymns of the Ṛg. mean 'vaiśya' but means the 'people' or 'āryan people' when no epithet like 'dāsīḥ' or 'daivīḥ' is prefixed.[70] The Ait. Br. (I. 26) says that 'viśaḥ' means 'rāṣṭrāṇi' (countries) when explaining Ṛg. IV. 50·8 (tasmai viśaḥ svayam-evānamante).

The word 'dāsa' in later literature means 'a serf or a slave.' It follows that the dāsa tribes that we see opposed to the Āryas in the Ṛgveda were gradually vanquished and were then made to serve the Āryas. In the Manusmṛti (VIII. 413) the śūdra is said to have been created by God for service (*dāsya*) of the brāhmaṇa.[71] We find in the Tai. S., the Tai. Br. and other Brāhmaṇa works that the śūdra occupies the same position that he does in the smṛtis. Therefore it is reasonable to infer that the *dāsas* or *dasyus* conquered by the Āryas were gradually transformed into the śūdras. From being enemies they were brought into friendly relations and given a very subordinate position. Traces are visible even in the Ṛgveda that friendly relations had begun to be established between certain dāsas and the priests. For example in Ṛg. VIII. 46. 32 we read 'the singer took a hundred (cows or other gifts) from the dāsa Balbūtha and from Tarukṣa.' In the Puruṣasūkta (X. 90. 12) the brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra are said to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the supreme Puruṣa. In the very next verse the sun and the moon are said to have been born from the eye and mind of the Puruṣa. This shows that the composer of the hymn regarded the division of society into four classes to be very ancient and to be as natural and God-ordained as the sun and the moon.

We shall now see what position was assigned to the śūdra in the Vedic Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. In the Ṛgveda the Ārya is contradistinguished from the men 'of dark skin.' In the dharmasūtras we find the śūdras spoken of as 'dark varṇa.'

70. Vide Ṛg. I. 25.1, I. 114 3, VI. 15·1, X. 173·4 for 'viś' by itself.

71. शूद्रं तु कारयेद् दास्यं क्रीतमक्रीतमेव वा। दास्यायैव हि सृष्टोसौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयंभुवा॥ मनु VIII. 413

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Vide Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 27. 11 which is the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 59.[72] 'The śūdra among men and the horse among beasts. Therefore those two, the horse and the śūdra, are the conveyances of beings; therefore the śūdra is not fit (or ordained) for sacrifice' (Tai. S. VII. 1. 1. 6).[73] This shows that the śūdra could not perform the Vedic sacrifices and that he was employed for carrying persons in a palanquin or otherwise. In Tai. S. V. 7. 6. 3-4 we have 'put light (glory) in our brāhmaṇas, put it in our chiefs (or kings), (put) light in vaiśyas and śūdras, put light in me by your light.'[74] This is a sure indication that the śūdra who took the place of the dāsa is here placed on the same level with the other three classes in the matter of the receipt of light from God and that far from being looked upon as an enemy, he had come to be looked upon as a member of the society (though the lowest in the scale). 'The śūdra is a moving burial ground; therefore one should not study the Veda in the vicinity of a śūdra.'[75] 'He created the brāhmaṇa with Gāyatrī, the rājanya with Triṣṭubh and the vaiśya with Jagatī; but he did not create the śūdra with any metre.'[76] The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa says[77] 'Therefore a śūdra, though he may have many beasts, is not entitled to perform sacrifice, he is godless as no deity was created after him (as in the case of the other varṇas); therefore he does not go beyond washing the feet (of the three other varṇas), since he was created from the feet' (this last being an allusion to the Puruṣasūkta X. 90. 12 *padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata*). This shows that the śūdra, however rich in cattle he might be, had to perform the menial duty of washing the feet of *dvijas*. The

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72. यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्णं ब्राह्मणः सेवमानः। चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवायी त्रिभिर्वेर्स्तदपहन्ति पापम्॥ आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 27. 11=बौ. ध. सू. II. 1. 59=शान्तिपर्व 165. 29.

73. शूद्रो मनुष्याणामश्वः पशूनां तस्मात्तौ भूतसंक्रामिणावश्वश्च शूद्रश्च तस्माच्छूद्रो यज्ञेऽनवक्लृप्तः। तै. सं. VII. 1. 1.6.

74. रुचं नो धेहि ब्राह्मणेषु रुचं राजसु नस्कृधि। रुचं विश्येषु शूद्रेषु मयि धेहि रुचा रुचम्॥ तै. सं. V. 7. 6. 3-4.

75. पशु वा एतच्छ्मशानं यच्छूद्रः। तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येयम्। This is quoted by Sabara on Jaimini VI. 1. 38 as a śruti. वसिष्ठ ध. सू. 18. 11-12 echoes these words 'एके वा एतच्छ्मशानं ये शूद्राः। तस्माच्छूद्रसमीपे नाध्येतव्यम्।' पशु...च्छूद्रः is cited as Śatapatha Śruti by the Śūdrakamalākara (p. 3).

76. This is quoted by Vas. Dh. S. IV. 3. Vide Ait. Br. 5. 12 'गायत्रो वै ब्राह्मणः ..... त्रैष्टुभो वै राजन्यः ..... जागतो वै वैश्यः'.

77. तस्माच्छूद्र उत बहुपशुरयज्ञियो विदेवो नहि तं काचन देवतान्वसृज्यत तस्मात्पादावनेज्यं नातिवर्धते पत्तो हि सृष्टः। ताण्ड्य VI. 1. 11.

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Śatapatha Br. says that 'the śūdra is untruth' (S. B. E. vol. 44. p. 446), that 'the śūdra is toil' (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 410), and that a dīkṣita (one who was initiated for a Vedic sacrifice) was not to speak with a śūdra (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 4). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa remarks that 'the śūdra[78] is at the beck and call of others (the three varṇas), he can be made to rise at will, he can be beaten at will.' When the father of Śunaḥśepa[79] (who had sold Śunaḥśepa for 100 coins and had shown himself ready to kill him as a paśu for another hundred coins) urged his son to come back to him after the boy had been taken into favour by Varuṇa and Viśvāmitra, he contemptuously discards his father's proposal with the words 'one who commits an evil deed once may commit another sinful deed thereafter; you did not leave aside the śūdra's line of conduct; you did what leaves no door for reconciliation.' These passages show that the śūdra, though he had ceased to be an enemy of the ārya and had been allowed to be within the pale of society, was looked down upon, was assigned a very low position, had to perform work of toil as a menial and was not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. A clear line of demarcation was kept between the Ārya and the Śūdra in the times of the Brāhmaṇa works and even in the dharmasūtras. The Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa[80] speaks of a mock fight 'the śūdra and ārya fight on a hide, out of the two they so arrange that the ārya colour becomes the victor'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 1.3.40–41 says[81] that a brāhmacārin, if he cannot himself eat all the food he has brought by begging, may keep it near an ārya (for his use) or he may give it to a śūdra who is a dāsa (of his teacher)'. The same Dharmasūtra[82] (II. 2.3. 1 and 4) says 'Āryas who are pure (by bath) should prepare the food for Vaiśvadeva;.....or śūdras supervised by āryas should prepare it'. Similarly Gautama X. 69 uses the word 'anārya for śūdra and Gautama 12.3 prescribes heavy punishment for a

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78. (शूद्रः) अन्यस्य प्रेष्यः कामोत्थाप्यो यथाकामवध्यः। ऐ. ब्रा. 35.3

79 यः सकृत्यापकं कुर्यात्कुर्यादेनस्ततोऽपरम्। नापागाः शौद्रान्न्यायादसन्धेयं त्वया कृतम्॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 5. The legend of Śunaḥśepa is referred to even in Ṛg. I. 24.12-13 and V. 2.7 (where it is expressly said that Śunaḥśepa was released by Varuṇa from the sacrificial post to which he had been tied).

80. शूद्रार्यौ चर्मणि व्यायच्छेते तयोरार्यवर्णमुज्जापयन्ति। ताण्ड्य V. 5. 14.

81. आर्याय वा पर्यवदध्यात्। अन्तर्धिने वा शूद्राय। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 40-41

82. आर्याः प्रयता वैश्वदेवेऽन्नसंस्कर्तारः स्युः। आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कर्तारः स्युः आप. ध. सू. II. 2. 3. 1 and 4.

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śūdra having sexual intercourse with an ārya woman. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmāṃsā sūtra (VI. 1.25–38) establishes after elaborate discussion that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* for the performance of Agnihotra and Vedic sacrifices. It is, however, somewhat gratifying to find that at least one ācārya, Bādari, espoused the cause of the śūdra and propounded the view that all (including śūdras) were entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices (VI. 1.27). In the Vedānta-sūtras also (I. 3.34–38) it is established that the śūdra has no *adhikāra* for brahmavidyā based on Veda study, though some śūdras like Vidura might have been endowed with the knowledge of *brahma* owing to saṃskāras of former births. In the smṛti literature, however, a few passages are found allowing marriages of āryas with śūdra women (which will be discussed later on). Similarly sexual relations (illicit) between a śūdra woman and a man of higher varṇa are alluded to even in the Saṃhitās e. g. Tai. S.[83] VII. 4.19.3 'when a śūdra woman has an *ārya* as her paramour she does not seek wealth for the prosperity (of her relations)'. In Ait. Br. (8. 1) there is the story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa, who was driven out from the sacrifice on the Sarasvatī with the words 'Oh, son of a female slave, you are a rogue and not a brāhmaṇa; how did you take the dīkṣā (initiation) as one of us' and they carried him off to a sandy desert with the idea that he might die of thirst there. He when tormented by thirst 'saw' the hymn Ṛg. X. 30 and Sarasvatī came rushing to him.[84] Further discussion about the śūdra and his disabilities will follow in another section later.

The position of the three varṇas *inter se* (called collectively ārya) now requires consideration. It is clear that the Saṃhitās other than the Ṛgveda and Brāhmaṇa works show that the three classes of brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas and vaiśyas had become differentiated and their privileges, duties and liabilities had become more or less fixed in those times.

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83. शूद्रा यदर्यजारा न पोषाय धनायति। तै. सं. VII. 4. 19.3 and Vājasaneya Saṃhitā 23. 30. 'Arya' may mean an Ārya, or simply 'master' or 'vaiśya' (as in later literature). The words न...यति may mean 'He (the father of the śūdra woman) does not desire wealth for his own prosperity' (as he is pained by the event).

84. A similar story is told in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa XII. 3. The words 'dāsyāḥ putraḥ' may be only terms of abuse or they may mean that, though he posed to be a brāhmaṇa, he was the son of a brāhmaṇa from a dāsī.

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In Ṛg. IV. 50.8 we read 'that king alone who places brahmā first (i. e. honours him) dwells happy in his house, for him the earth always remains prosperous and to him all the people (or kingdoms) bow down of their own accord'. 'Brāhmaṇas[85] are gods that are directly seen' (Tai. S. I. 7. 3. 1); 'there are two kinds of gods; for indeed the gods are gods and the brāhmaṇas who have studied and teach the sacred lore are the human gods' Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 309, vol. 26 p. 341). In the Atharvaveda V. 17. 19 there is an assertion of the pre-eminence of brāhmaṇas and the consequences of harming them or their cows. 'Therefore the brāhmaṇa is the foremost' (Tai. S. II. 6. 2. 5, V. 2. 7. 1). 'Therefore the brāhmaṇa shows his might by his mouth, since he was created from the mouth' (Tāṇḍya Br. XI. 1. 2).[86] In the Ait. Br. (33. 4) Varuṇa, when he was told that a brāhmaṇa boy would be offered in place of the son of the king Hariścandra, is made to say 'a brāhmaṇa is indeed preferable to a kṣatriya'. The mere fact of birth as brāhmaṇa's son is represented here as giving to the boy pre-eminence over a king's son. On the other hand the Śat. Br. says (V. 1. 1. 12) 'a brāhmaṇa[87] is not adequate to (competent to manage) a kingdom'. In the Tai. Br. it is said that playing on the vīṇā (in the Aśvamedha) is to be done by a brāhmaṇa and a rājanya (and not by two brāhmaṇas), since wealth does not find delight in the brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[88] (XI. 5. 7. 1) lays emphasis on the four peculiar attributes of brāhmaṇas viz. brāhmaṇya (purity of parentage as a brāhmaṇa), pratirūpacaryā (befitting deportment or conduct), yaśas (glory) and lokapakti (the teaching or perfecting of people). 'When the people are being perfected or taught by him, people endow him with four privileges viz. arcā (honour), dāna (gifts), ajyeyatā (freedom

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85. एते वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षं यद् ब्राह्मणाः । तै. सं. I. 7. 3. 1; यावतीर्वै देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो वेदविद्भ्यो दिवे दिवे नमस्कुर्यात् । नाइलीलं कीर्तयेदेता एव देवताः प्रीणाति । तै. आ. II. 15 and 'ब्राह्मणो वा आर्षेयः सर्वा देवताः ।' शतपथ XII. 4. 4. 6; तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो मुखेन वीर्यं करोति मुखतो हि सृष्टः । ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. VI. 1. 6. The same idea is expressed in the उत्तररामचरित V. 'वाचि वीर्यं द्विजानाम्.'

86. ब्रह्म हि पूर्वं क्षत्रात् । ताण्ड्यमहा ब्रा. XI. 1. 2; भूयान्वै ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियादिति वरुण उवाच । ऐ. ब्रा. 33. 4.

87. 'न वै ब्राह्मणो राज्यायालम्' शतपथ V. 1. 1.12; S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 4. न वै ब्राह्मणे श्री रमते इति ब्राह्मणोन्यो गायेद्राजन्योन्यः । तै. ब्रा. III. 9. 14.

88. प्रज्ञा वर्धमाना चतुरो धर्मान् ब्राह्मणमभिनिष्पादयति ब्राह्मण्यं प्रतिरूपचर्या यशो लोकपक्तिं लोकः पच्यमानश्चतुर्भिर्धर्मैः ब्राह्मणं भुनक्त्यर्चया च दानेन चाज्येयतया चावध्यतया च । शतपथ XI. 5. 7. 1.

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from being harassed) and avadhyatā (freedom from being beaten). The Śatapatha (V. 4. 6. 9) expressly mentions that brāhmaṇa, rājanya, vaiśya and śūdra are the four varṇas. Teaching had become so much associated with the brāhmaṇas that when the brāhmaṇa Gārgya approached king Ajātaśatru for the knowledge of *brahma*, the latter replied "this is contrary to the natural order that a brāhmaṇa should approach a kṣatriya with the idea 'he (kṣatriya) will propound to me brahma'." In a separate section below all the privileges enjoyed by the brāhmaṇas will be set out at one place.[89]

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89. स होवाचाजातशत्रुः प्रतिलोमं चैतद्यद् ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमुपेयाद् ब्रह्म मे वक्ष्यतीति। बृह. उ. II. 1.15; तं होवाचाजातशत्रुः प्रतिलोमरूपमेव स्याद्यत्क्षत्रियो ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत। कौषीतकिब्रा. उ. IV. 18. In the Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 9 we read यद् ब्राह्मणश्चाब्राह्मणश्च प्रश्नमेयातां ब्राह्मणायाधिब्रूयाद्यद् ब्राह्मणायाध्याहात्मनेध्याह यद् ब्राह्मणं पराहात्मानं पराह तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो न परोच्यः। This literally means 'if a brāhmaṇa and a non-brāhmaṇa come (to a man) asking him a question, then he should speak to the brāhmaṇa first; that he speaks to the brāhmaṇa first is really tantamount to speaking first to one-self; when he speaks away from the brāhmaṇa (i. e. he speaks to the non-brāhmaṇa first and then to the brāhmaṇa) that is really speaking away to oneself; therefore a brāhmaṇa should not be spoken away (i. e postponed to non-brāhmaṇas).' Manu VIII. 24 says that a king should take up the causes of litigants in the order of the varṇas (i. e. if there are two plaintiffs coming with complaints at the same time the brāhmaṇa's complaint should be first attended to). Bṛhaspati says the same thing. Therefore the Tai. S. should be interpreted in the same way. Another meaning is possible viz. if a brāhmaṇa and a non-brāhmaṇa come to a person and ask him who is superior, the person should declare that the brāhmaṇa is the superior of the two (on account of his birth as brāhmaṇa probably or of his being a learned man). This sense of 'adhi' as meaning 'superior' is found in Manu I. 99 'since brāhmaṇa when born becomes (or is born) superior (to all) on this wide earth.' Prof. Keith in his translation of Tai. S. (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 18 p. 203) says in a footnote "it is not absolutely certain that *adhibrū* means 'decide in favour of' rather than 'speak in favour of.'" Vide also Vedic Index (II. p. 83). Dr. Ghurye (in 'Caste and race in India' p. 43) says 'in a legal dispute between a brāhmaṇa or non-brāhmaṇa an arbitrator or witness must speak in favour of the former.' It appears that Dr. Ghurye simply follows the rather guardedly expressed view of the famous Professor, but makes the sense more emphatic than Prof. Keith puts it and does not think for himself whether any other meaning is possible or more appropriate. Any stick is good for beating the brāhmaṇa with. The brāhmaṇas were never ashamed in the smṛti texts of declaring the privileges they

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The position of kṣatriyas and their relation to the brāhmaṇas falls to be considered now. First of all with reference to the king several important passages may be cited. In some cases 'rājan' means only 'a noble' or 'chief', as in Ṛg. X. 42. 10, X. 97. 6. In many passages 'rājan' means 'king'. The government often seems to have been tribal, such tribes as Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus (Ṛg. I. 108. 8) being frequently mentioned (vide Ṛg. VII. 18. 6 for Bhṛgus and Druhyus and VII. 18. 7 for Tṛtsus, VIII. 6. 46 for Yādvas). Whether kingship was by election it is not necessary here to discuss. The king was regarded as keeping the people within bounds.[90] When a king was crowned, it was thought that 'a kṣatriya was produced, a lord of all beings, the defender of brāhmaṇas (or of holy texts) and of dharma.'[91] The Sat. Br. says 'for these two (śrotriya and king) are the upholders of the sacred law among men' (S. B. E. vol. 41 p. 106).[92] That the co-operation between brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya results in glory and success is frequently emphasized e. g. 'therefore a brāhmaṇa must certainly be approached by a kṣatriya who is about to perform some act, for indeed that act of a kṣatriya which is sped on by brāhmaṇa succeeds' (Śatapatha, S. B. E. vol. 26 pp. 270–271)[93]. The *purohita* of a

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claimed. But they never claimed to be treated in a court of law as above truth and justice. If they had taken the Tai. S. passage in the sense in which Dr. Ghurye takes it they would never have scrupled to say so in smṛti works and would have quoted the Tai. S. in support. Hence the meaning is different. There is no question here of an arbitration or judicial decision. In Ṛg. I. 100. 19 there is a similar expression 'May Indra speak in our favour on all days' (विश्वाहेन्द्रो अधिवक्ता नो अस्तु). Vide Ṛg. X. 63. 11 and Vāj. S. 16. 5 for the verb 'vac' with 'adhi' in the sense of 'speak in favour of' or 'bless.'

90. तस्माद्राज्ञा मनुष्या विधृताः। तै. सं. II. 6. 2.2.

91. क्षत्रियोऽजनि विश्वस्य भूतस्याधिपतिरजनि विशामत्ताजनि ... ब्रह्मणो गोप्ताजनि। धर्मस्य गोप्ताजनि। ऐ. ब्रा. 38 and 39. 3.

92. Varuṇa is frequently called धृतव्रत (e. g. ऋ. I. 25. 8 and 10 and once even the yajamāna is so called (ऋ. I. 25. 6); the शतपथ V. 4. 4. 5 explains ऋ. I. 25. 10 as 'निषसाद धृतव्रत इति। धृतव्रतो वै राजा ... ... एष च श्रोत्रियश्च तौ ह वै द्वौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतौ।'. In गौतम VIII. 1 practically the same words occur 'द्वौ लोके धृतव्रतौ राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुतः'. Manu IX. 322 and Nārada (prakīrṇaka 42) express the same idea.

93 तस्माद्धु क्षत्रियेण कर्म करिष्यमाणेनोपसर्तव्य एव ब्राह्मणः। स हैवास्मै तद् ब्रह्मप्रसूतं कर्मर्ध्यते। शतपथ ब्रा. IV. 1. 4. 6; the words ब्रह्म ... र्ध्यते occur in गौतम XI. 14.

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kṣatriya came to occupy a very high position. The Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 270) lays emphasis on the importance of the purohita and cautions a brāhmaṇa against being the purohita of any king he meets with and adds that a brāhmaṇa may remain without a king, but a king should not be without a brāhmaṇa. Even the gods required a purohita, as the Tai. S. II. 5. 1. 1. says 'Viśvarūpa son of Tvaṣṭṛ was the purohita of gods.'[94] Śaṇḍa and Amarka were the purohitas of the Asuras (Kāṭhaka S. IV. 4). Agni is often called *purohita* (Ṛg. I. 1. 1., I. 44. 10, III. 2. 8). 'May we, purohitas, be awake in the kingdom (for its welfare)' says the Tai. S. (I. 7. 10. 1). The Ait. Br. (chap. 34. 8) says[95] 'the purohita is half the soul of the kṣatriya' and contains an eulogy of purohita in the following words (40. 1) "for indeed the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no purohita; therefore a king when about to offer a sacrifice should have a brāhmaṇa as his purohita with the idea 'may the gods eat my food.'" The combination of the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya is said to be most desirable and that it is conducive to the eminence of both is declared in the Tai. S. (V. 1. 10. 3)[96] 'Therefore a brāhmaṇa who is supported by a rājanya is superior to another brāhmaṇa (not so supported), hence a rājanya who has a brāhmaṇa (to help him) is superior to another rājanya'. The Śatapatha (V. 4. 4. 15) declares 'that king indeed who is not powerful to the brāhmaṇas (i. e. who is humble before the brāhmaṇas) becomes more powerful than his foes.'[97] It is not to be supposed that this attainment of the supreme position by brāhmaṇas was an affair of plain sailing. Sometimes kṣatriyas claimed higher position and also paid scant respect to brāhmaṇas. In the Śatapatha we read 'whence the brāhmaṇa is an object of respect after the king' (S. B. E. vol. 41, p. 96); 'hence the people here serve, from a lower position, the kṣatriya seated above them' Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 94); 'hence when a nobleman approaches, all these people, the subjects crouch down by him on the ground' Śatapatha (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 228); 'therefore there is nothing higher than the kṣatra;

94. विश्वरूपो वै त्वाष्ट्रः पुरोहितो देवानामासीत् स्वस्रीयोऽसुराणाम्। तै. सं. II. 5.1.1.

95. अर्धात्मो ह वा एष क्षत्रियस्य यत्पुरोहितः। ऐ. ब्रा. 34. 8; न ह वा अपुरोहितस्य राज्ञो देवा अन्नमदन्ति तस्माद्राजा यक्ष्यमाणो ब्राह्मणं पुरोदधीत देवा मेऽन्नमदन्निति। ऐ. ब्रा. 40. 1.

96. तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो राजन्यवानत्यन्यं ब्राह्मणं तस्माद्राजन्यो ब्राह्मणवानत्यन्यं राजन्यम्। तै. सं. V. 1. 10. 3.

97. यो वै राजा ब्राह्मणादबलीयानमित्रेभ्यो वै स बलीयान् भवति। शतपथ V. 4.4. 15.

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therefore the brāhmaṇa sits down below the kṣatriya in the Rājasūya' (Śatapatha 14. 4. 1. 23 = Bṛ. Up. I. 4. 11). In the Atharvaveda several verses occur which declare the harm that results from disrespecting or injuring a brāhmaṇa or from robbing him of his cow. 'He who regards brāhmaṇa as food drinks of the poison of Taimāta; he who injures a brāhmaṇa, the relative of the gods, does not attain to the world of pitṛs' (Atharvaveda V. 18. 4 and 13). 'Those who spat on a brāhmaṇa or those who sent to him mucus remain biting the hair in the midst of a stream by their mouth; that kingdom sinks as water sinks a shattered vessel, where' they injure a brāhmaṇa; that wicked act strikes that kingdom[98] (Atharvaveda V. 19. 3 and 8).

The stories of king Kārtavīrya and Viśvāmitra who respectively carried off the cows of Jamadagni and Vasiṣṭha narrated in the Mahābhārata (Śānti 49 for Kārtavīrya; Ādi. 175 for Viśvāmitra) and the Purāṇas show how several kings were high-handed and treated brāhmaṇas with no respect whatever. It appears that even the wives of brāhmaṇas were not quite safe at the hands of kings. 'The chamberlain (kṣatṛ) of that king in whose kingdom the wife of a brāhmaṇa is thoughtlessly put under restraint does not march in front of cooking vessels with a golden ornament on his neck'[99] (Atharva V. 17. 14). The somewhat mystical hymn (Ṛg. X. 109) where 'brahmajāyā' figures prominently probably hints at the same fact (viz. the kidnapping of the wives of brāhmaṇas).

The Tai. S. says that 'the vaiśya indeed sacrifices, being desirous of cattle' and that the gods having been defeated were reduced to the condition of being the vaiśyas or 'viś of *asuras*';[100] 'the vaiśya among men, cows among beasts, therefore they are to be enjoyed (to be eaten, to be subsisted upon) by others; they were produced from the receptacle of food; therefore they exceed others in numbers'.[101] The Tai. Br. says 'the vaiśya class is

98. ये ब्राह्मणं प्रत्यष्ठीवन् ये वास्मिञ् शुक्रमीषिरे। अन्नस्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते॥ तद्वै राष्ट्रमान्नवति नावं भिन्नमिवोदकम्। ब्राह्मणं यत्र हिंसन्ति तद्राष्ट्रं हन्ति दुच्छुना॥ अथर्व V. 19. 3 and 8.

99. नास्य क्षत्ता निष्कग्रीवः सूनानामेत्यग्रतः। यस्मिन् राष्ट्रे निरुध्यते ब्रह्मजायाऽचित्या॥ अथर्ववेद V. 17. 14.

100. पशुकामः खलु वैश्यो यजते। तै सं. II. 5. 10.2: ते देवाः पराजिग्याना असुराणां वैश्यमुपायन्। तै. सं. II. 3. 7. 1.

101. वैश्यो मनुष्याणां गावः पशूनां तस्मात्त आद्या अन्नधानादध्यसृज्यन्त तस्माद्भूयांसोऽन्येभ्यः। तै. सं. VII. 1. 1, 5

6386

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said to have been born from ṛk verses, they declare the Yajurveda as the origin of the kṣatriya, the Sāmaveda is indeed the source of brāhmaṇas '.[102] The same Brāhmaṇa further says 'the viś go away from (reside separately from) the brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas'. The Tāṇḍya Br. says[103] 'Hence the vaiśya, though being eaten (i. e. subsisted upon) by others is not exhausted, since he was created from the *prajanana* (from the sexual parts of Prajāpati); therefore he has numerous cattle, he has all the gods (as his patrons) and was produced with the Jagatī metre, his season is the rains, therefore he is to be eaten by the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya, since he was created as lower (than those two classes)'. The Śat. Br. (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 335) says 'He thus assigns to the Maruts a share therein after Indra, whereby he makes the people (viś) subservient and obedient to the nobility '.[104] According to the Ait. Br. 35. 3 the vaiśya is one who is the food of others, who pays taxes to others. These passages show that vaiśyas were entitled to sacrifice, reared cattle, were far more numerous than the other two classes, they had to bear the brunt of taxation, they lived apart from brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas and were obedient to them.

The system of the four varṇas had taken such deep roots in the period when the Brāhmaṇa works were composed, that we often meet with Vedic passages saying that it extended even to the gods, Agni and Bṛhaspati being the brāhmaṇas among gods; Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Yama being the kṣatriyas; Vasus, Rudras, the Viśve Devas and Maruts being the viś, and Pūṣan being the śūdra.[105] Similarly it is said 'the brāhmaṇa is really spring, the kṣatriya summer, and the viś are the rainy season.'

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102. ऋग्भ्यो जातं वैश्यं वर्णमाहुः। यजुर्वेदं क्षत्रियस्याहुर्योनिम्। सामवेदो ब्राह्मणानां प्रसूतिः। तै. ब्रा. III. 12. 9; तस्माद् ब्रह्मणश्च क्षत्राच्च विशोन्यतोऽपक्रमिणीः। तै. ब्रा. I. 6. 5.

103. तस्माद्वैश्योऽद्यमानो न क्षीयते प्रजननाद्धि सृष्टस्तस्माद्बहुपशुर्वैश्वदेवो हि जागतो वर्षा ह्यस्यर्तुस्तस्माद् ब्राह्मणस्य च राजन्यस्य चायोऽधरो हि सृष्टः। ताण्ड्यमहाब्रा. VI. 1. 10.

104. अथैतदिन्द्रमेवाग्रु मरुत आभजन्ति। तत्क्षत्रायैवैतद्विशं कृताग्रुकरामग्रुवर्त्मानं करोति। शतपथ IV. 3. 3. 10.

105. Vide Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ. I. 10. 13, Śatapatha 14. 4. 2. 23–25 which is the same as Br. Up. I. 4. 11–13, Kauṣītaki Br. 9. 5 and Ait. Br. (34. 5). Compare शान्तिपर्व 208. 23–25 for Ādityas being kṣatriyas, Maruts as vaiśyas, Aśvins as śūdras.

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That there were other professions and crafts with specific names (which in later times at least became castes) even in the times of the Saṁhitās is quite clear. The Ṛg. speaks of vaptā (barber) in X. 142.4, taṣṭā (a carpenter or maker of chariots) in Ṛg. I. 61.4, VII. 32.20, IX. 112.1, X. 119.5; tvaṣṭā (a carpenter) in VIII. 102.8; bhiṣak (medicine man) in IX. 112.1 and 3, karmāra or kārmāra (iron-smith) in X. 72.2 and IX. 112.2, carmamna (tanner) in Ṛg. VIII. 5.38.

The Atharvaveda mentions rathakāra (III. 5.6), karmāra (III. 5.6) and sūta (III. 5.7). In the Tai. S. (IV. 5.4.2)[106] mention is made of kṣatṛ (royal chamberlain or doorkeeper), saṁgrahītṛ (treasurer), takṣan (carpenter) and rathakāra (maker of chariots), kulāla (potter), karmāra, puñjiṣṭa (fowler), niṣāda, iṣukṛt (maker of arrows), dhanvakṛt (maker of bows), mṛgayu (hunter) and śvani (those who lead packs of hounds). These also occur in the Vājasaneya-saṁhitā 16. 26–28 and these and a few more in Vāj. S. 30.5–13 and in Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā 17.13. In the Tai. Br. (III. 4.1 and the following anuvākas that deal with Puruṣamedha) we have āyogū, māgadha (bard), sūta, śailūṣa (actor), rebha, bhīmala, rathakāra, takṣan, kaulāla, karmāra, maṇikāra, vapa (sower or barber), iṣukāra, dhanvakāra, jyākāra (maker of bow-string), rajjusarga, mṛgayu, śvani surākāra (vintner), ayastāpa (heater of iron or copper), kitava (gambler), bidalakāra (worker in wicker-work), kaṇṭakakāra. The Śatapatha Br. XI. 8.1. speaks of kaulāla-cakra (the potter's wheel). The Tai. Br. III. 8.5. mentions also rājaputra ugra. The Śatapatha (S. B. E. Vol. 44 p. 397) speaks of Marutta Āvikṣita as an āyogava king. This latter is a pratiloma caste according to the dharmasūtras (vide below). Whether in the Śatapatha that word has the same sense is doubtful. The Tai. S. I. 8.9.1–2 mentions among the 'ratnas' (the jewels), the sūta, grāmaṇī, kṣatṛ, saṁgrahītṛ, bhāgadugha (collector of taxes), akṣāvāpa (superintendent of gambling). Vide also Tai. Br. I. 7.3. In the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa (19.1.4) it is said that 'eight brave persons hold up the kingdom viz. the king's brother, the king's son, the purohita, the crowned queen, the sūta, the grāmaṇī, kṣatṛ and saṁgrahītṛ'. Therefore it looks likely that kṣatṛ and saṁgrahītṛ were high officers of state and not castes. In the Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 1. 5 among the

106. नमः क्षत्तृभ्यः संग्रहीतृभ्यश्च वो नमो नमस्तक्षभ्यो रथकारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः कुलालेभ्यः कर्मारेभ्यश्च वो नमो नमः पुञ्जिष्टेभ्यो निषादेभ्यश्च वो नमो नम इषुकृद्भ्यो धन्वकृद्भ्यश्च वो नमो नमो मृगयुभ्यः श्वनिभ्यश्च वो नमः । तै. सं. IV. 5. 4, 2,

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guards of the horse let loose in the Aśvamedha there were 'a hundred sons of kṣātra-saṁgrahītṛs carrying clubs'. As the word 'kṣātra' is prefixed to 'saṁgrahītṛ' it follows that 'saṁgrahītṛs' were officers who may have belonged to any varṇa. In the same passage mention is made of a hundred guardians who were the sons of *sūtagrāmaṇīs*. In another passage of the same brāhmaṇa (XIII. 2. 2. 18) the sūtas and grāmaṇīs are said to be no kings and yet are rājakṛt (i. e. king-makers).[107] This means probably that they are the principal persons on whose support the king depends. The Śat. Br. V. 4. 4. 15–19 arranges brāhmaṇa, king, king's brother, sūta or sthapati, grāmaṇī, sajāta in a descending scale of powerfulness. So the sūta appears to have been originally an important officer. It is hardly possible to say with assurance that all these had become petrified into castes in the modern sense, particularly when several persons associated with these in the Vāj. S. and elsewhere were not castes such as the thief (taskara), the impotent (klība), humpbacked (kubja), dwarf (vāmana); but most of the avocations and crafts referred to above have corresponding castes and subcastes for hundreds of years. It is therefore possible to say that in the times of the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas these were groups founded on occupations that had become castes or were in process of developing into castes. The Tāṇḍya Br. speaks of Kirātas (who were and are non-Āryan and were aboriginal tribes).[108] The Vāj. S. (30. 17) speaks of Paulkasa in connection with bībhatsā (nauseating filth) and of cāṇḍāla (in 30.21) in connection with vāyu (wind). The paulkasa and cāṇḍāla occur in Tai. Br. (III. 4. 14 and III. 4. 17 (respectively). In the Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.7)[109] the cāṇḍāla is ranked with the dog and the boar. 'Therefore even if one knowing thus were to give the leavings of his food to a cāṇḍāla that would in his case be an offering made into the

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107. यथा वै राज्ञोऽराजानो राजकृतः सूतग्रामण्यः। शतपथ XIII. 2. 2. 18.

108. Vide ताण्डच ब्रा. 13. 12. 5, वाज. सं. 30. 16, अथर्ववेद X. 4. 14, तै. ब्रा. III. 4. 12 for किरात.

109. अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूयां योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोनिं वा सूकरयोनिं वा चण्डालयोनिं वा। छा. V. 10. 7. There were strict rules about giving one's ucchiṣṭa to another. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 11. 31. 25–26) did not allow a brāhmaṇa to give his ucchiṣṭa to one not a brāhmaṇa, unless certain rather obnoxious things were done to it. Manu IV. 80 forbids the giving of ucchiṣṭa to a śūdra (who is not a dependant) while Manu X. 125 allows it to be given to a śūdra who is a dependant.

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Self as Fire'—Chāndogya V. 24. 4. This shows that the cāṇḍāla was the lowest in the social scale. 'Just as a pāśya or vaideha, or the son of an ugra, after having made his bow strung &c.'—Bṛ. Up. III. 8.2. In the Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.22 mention is made of both cāṇḍāla and paulkasa and in IV. 3.37 it is said[110] that 'just as when a king pays a visit, the ugras, pratyenasas (thief catchers), the sūtas and headmen of the village make arrangements for him with food and drink and with pavilions.' Here ugras seem to be a group of nobles subordinate to the king. In later literature ugra is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a śūdra woman (Yāj. I. 91). In the Ṛg. X. 97. 12 the word ugra occurs 'You destroy disease just as an ugra who is a mediator or arbitrator (removes dispute).' What ugra means here cannot be said with certainty. It may only mean a 'formidable chief or king.'

The rathakāra and niṣāda deserve a passing notice. The Tai. Br. I. 1. 4 after stating that the brāhmaṇa should consecrate sacred fires in the spring, the kṣatriya in summer, the vaiśya in autumn, ordains that the rathakāra should consecrate sacred fires in the rainy season. The question arises whether the rathakāra is a member of the three higher castes who has taken in economic distress to the profession of making chariots or is a person belonging to a caste other than the three higher varṇas. Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmāṅsā-sūtra (VI. 1. 44–50) discusses this question and establishes[111] that the rathakāra is a member of a caste other than the three higher varṇas, that he has on account of the express words in the *śruti* the privilege to consecrate sacred fires with vedic mantras, that the *mantra* for the consecration of rathakāras is 'ṛbhūṇām tvā' (Tai. Br. 1. 1. 4) and that the rathakāras are the caste called Saudhanvana which is neither śūdra nor one of the three higher ones, but is slightly inferior to the three higher varṇas. Viśvarūpa[112] (on

110. Pāṇini VI. 2. 60 teaches the accent of the word प्रत्येनस् when compounded with राजन्. According to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2. 29) ugra is an anuloma caste sprung from a brāhmaṇa father and śūdra wife.

111. वचनाद्रथकारस्याधानेऽस्य सर्वशेषत्वात् । ..... सौधन्वनास्तु हीनत्वान्मन्त्रवर्णात्प्रतीयेरन् । पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 44 and 50.

112. यत्तु स्मृत्यन्तरे रथकारस्योपनयनस्मरणं तदाधानाधिकृतत्वाद् भ्रान्तेरित्यवसेयम् । विश्वरूप on या. I. 10. The बौ. गृ. II. 5. 6. has वसन्ते ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत ग्रीष्मे राजन्यं शरदि वैश्यं वर्षासु रथकारमिति । . Vide भारद्वाजगृह्य I. 1 for the same rule. क्षत्रियवैश्यानुलोमानन्तरजोत्पन्नो रथकारस्तस्य चेज्यादानोपनयनसंस्कारक्रिया अश्वप्रतिष्ठा रथसूत्रवास्तुविद्याध्ययनवर्तिता च । शङ्ख quoted in संस्कारप्रकाश p. 399 which says that this रथकार is different.

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Yāj. I. 10) notices that in some smṛti the rathakāra though not belonging to the three higher varṇas, was allowed the privilege of upanayana, but adds that this dictum of the smṛti is due to mistake, it being misled by the fact that he is allowed the privilege of ādhāna [113] (consecration of sacred fires). In modern times the members of the carpenter caste in certain parts of the Deccan at least are in the habit of performing the upanayana and wearing the sacred thread.

With reference to an iṣṭi offered to Rudra a Vedic text says 'one should make a *niṣādasthapati* perform this iṣṭi.' The Pūrvamīmāṃsā sūtra [114] (VI. 1. 51-52) discusses the question whether this authorises a niṣāda who is himself a chieftain or a chieftain (who is a member of the three higher varṇas) of niṣādas. The established conclusion is that the iṣṭi is to be performed by a niṣāda who is a chieftain though he be beyond the pale of the three varṇas, as the Karmadhāraya compound is the proper way of dissolving the compound and not the genitive Tatpuruṣa. The Ait. Br. (37. 7) says [115] 'just as the niṣādas, or selagas (thieves) or evil-doers seize a wealthy man in a forest and throwing him in a well run away with his wealth.' The Śāṅkhāyana Br. (25. 15) allows one who had performed the Viśvajit sacrifice (in which everything is given away) to stay in a settlement of niṣādas whose food is the lowest that he is allowed to take. The Kātyāyanaśrauta-sūtra (I. 1. 12-14) says [116] that 'the chieftain who is a niṣāda can offer a *caru* of Gavedhukā corn to Rudra, but this offering is to be made in ordinary fire (and not in the fires consecrated with Vedic mantras) i. e. the permission to offer Raudra iṣṭi does not entitle him to perform Vedic consecration of fire (ādhāna). But according to Satyāṣāḍha [117]-kalpa III. 1 both the niṣāda and the rathakāra are entitled to perform Agnihotra and Darśa-pūrṇamāsa.

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113. वसन्तो ब्राह्मणस्य ग्रीष्मो राजन्यस्य हेमन्तो वा शरद् वैश्यस्य वर्षा रथकारस्य। आप. श्रौ. सू. V. 3. 18; vide kātyāyanaśrauta I. 1. 9-10 also.

114. स्थपतिर्निषादः स्याच्छब्दसामर्थ्यात्। पूर्वमी. VI. 1. 51.

115. यथा ह वा इदं निषादा वा सेलगा वा पापकृतो वा वित्तवन्तं पुरुषं गृहीत्वा कर्तमन्वस्य वित्तमादाय द्रवन्ति। ऐ. ब्रा. 37. 7. The com. on Āśv. Śr. (Uttara-ṣaṭka IV. 7. 6 explains सेलगाः as सर्पेणोन्मत्ताः (?).

116. निषादः स्थपतिर्गवेधुकेधिकृतः। वावकीर्णिनो गर्दभेज्या। लौकिके। कात्या० श्रौ. I. 1. 12-14.

117. निषादरथकारयोराधानादग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासौ च नियम्येते। सत्याषाढकल्प III. 1.

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The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[118] narrates that Viśvāmitra cursed his senior fifty sons, when they did not agree to his proposal to treat Śunaḥśepa (Devarāta) as his son, that they would associate with the lowest castes and that they became the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas who are among the lowest of society and are mostly composed of *dasyus*. It is probably owing to this legend that the Manusmṛti[119] (X. 43–45) is prepared to regard the Pauṇḍrakas, the Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khaśas as being originally kṣatriya castes, but later on reduced to the position of śūdras by the non-performance of Vedic saṁskāras (like upanayana) and by the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Manu further adds that the various castes that are outside the (influence of the) four varṇas are all known as *dasyus* whether they speak the language of Mlecchas or of Āryas.

One very important question is whether the theory of the four varṇas with their peculiar privileges and duties described in the dharmasūtras and other smṛtis was merely a theory even in the most ancient times. When the Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda speaks of Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra or when the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa expressly says that they are four varṇas, it appears to me that they speak of facts existing in their times and not merely of a theory which was to be striven for as an ideal. Smṛti writers try to place all their dicta in the frame-work of the varṇas because the four varṇas and their duties and privileges had been more or less clearly defined in the times of the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, which according to the authors of the smṛtis were śruti, eternal and infallible. They tried to approximate the state of society existing in their times to the varṇas which they held were of hoary antiquity. But there is nothing to show that the same difficulties were felt by the authors of the Vedic hymns and the Brāhmaṇas. The manner in which they refer to the privileges and disabilities of the several varṇas have such a deep ring of actuality that one must concede that the varṇas spoken of in them represented the

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118. ताननुव्याजहारान्तान्वः प्रजा भक्षीष्टेति । त एतेन्ध्राः पुण्ड्राः शबराः पुलिन्दा मूतिवा इत्युदन्त्या बहवो वैश्वामत्रा दस्यूनां भूयिष्ठाः । ऐ. ब्रा. 33.6.

119. शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः । वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राह्मणादर्शनेन च ॥ पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः । पारदा पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराताः दरदाः खशाः ॥ मुखबाहूरुपज्जानां या लोके जातयो बहिः । म्लेच्छवाचश्चार्यवाचः सर्वे ते दस्यवः स्मृताः ॥ मनु X. 43–45.

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real divisions of society at least to a very great extent, if not cent percent.

The preceding discussion renders the following propositions most probable;

(1) that in the earliest times about which we have literary records there were only two varṇas, the āryas and their opponents the *dasyus* or *dāsas*; that the difference between the two was based on difference of colour and culture and was thus more or less racial and cultural;

(2) that centuries before the saṁhitā period closed the dasyus had been conquered and were given a position subservient to the āryas;

(3) that the śūdras were the dasyus so subjugated and made subservient;

(4) that the spirit of exclusiveness and pride of superiority existing among the āryas with reference to dasyus soon extended to groups among the āryas themselves;

(5) that by the time of the Brāhmaṇa Literature, brāhmaṇas (men supposed to be devoted to learning and priesthood), kṣatriyas (kings, noblemen and some warriors) and vaiśyas (the artisans and common people) had become separated into groups more or less dependent on birth and that the brāhmaṇa [120] had come to be regarded as superior to the kṣatriya by the fact of birth;

(6) that even such low castes as cāṇḍālas and paulkasas had been evolved long before the end of the Vedic period;

(7) that owing to cultural advance, division of labour arose and numerous arts and crafts had been developed and they were in process of contributing to the complexity of the system by creating numerous sub-castes based upon occupations;

(8) that besides the four varṇas intermediate castes like the rathakāra had been evolved;

(9) that there were certain non-Āryan tribes which were supposed to have been originally kṣatriyas but fallen later on.

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120. That this theory of four varṇas was well-known to Buddhist literary works is shown by Fick chap. II. p. 17 (the only difference being that in the Buddhist works the kṣatriya is put first and the brāhmaṇa after him).

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The close of the Vedic period is here taken as being not later than about 1000 B. C. How much earlier it may be placed it is not possible to say.

The following is a list of persons engaged in professions and crafts, which had probably become castes or were in the process of becoming castes, before the close of the Vedic period, as seen from the Vāj. S., Tai. S. and Tai. Br., Kāṭhaka Sam. (17. 13), the Atharva-veda, the Tāṇḍya Br. (III. 4.), the Ait. Br., the Chāndogya and the Bṛ. Up. The meaning of some of the words is not quite clear and it is possible that some in the list were not at all castes or professions. They are arranged in the alphabetical order of Sanskrit (though transliterated). The meanings of most of them have been given above. Where the meaning is doubtful a question mark has been made.

Ajāpāla (goatherd)
Andhra
Ayastāpa
Ayogū or Āyogū
Avipāla (keeper of ewes)
Ānda (?)
Iṣukāra
Ugra
Kaṇṭakakāra or Kaṇṭakikārī (in Vāj. S.)
Karmāra
Kāri (dancer?)
Kitava
Kirāta
Kīnāśa (cultivator?)
Kulāla or Kaulāla
Kevarta
Kośakārī (blower of bellows)
Kṣatṛ
Gopāla
Carmamna
Cāṇḍāla
Jambhaka (?)
Jyākāra
Takṣan

Dāśa
Dhanuṣkāra
or
Dhanvakāra
or
Dhanvakṛt
Dhaivara
Niṣāda
or
Naiṣāda
Puṁścalu
Puñjiṣṭa
or
Pauñjiṣṭha
Puṇḍra
Pulinda
Paulkasa
Bainda (catching fish in nets)
Bhiṣak
Bhīmala (timid?)
Maṇikāra
Māgadha
Mārgāra
Mūtiba
Mṛgayu

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Maināla (catcher of fish ?)	Vidalakārī or Bidala-
Rajayitrī (dyer)	Vrātya
Rajjusarga or -sarja	Śabara
Rathakāra	Śābalya (?)
Rājaputra	Śailūṣa
Rebha (?)	Śvanin (or Śvanita)
Vaṁśanartin	Saṁgrahītṛ
Vapa (barber)	Surākāra
Vāṇija	Sūta
Vāsaḥ-palpūlī (a washer-woman)	Selaga
	Hiraṇyakāra

Several centuries before the Christian era there were several castes. This follows not only from the dharmasūtras but also from the ancient Buddhist works and from the meagre existing fragments of the work of Megasthenes on India. Though Megasthenes was confused in his statements about the caste system as prevalent in his day, some propositions are clearly deducible therefrom. He states (pp. 40 ff) that the whole population of India was divided into seven castes, (1) philosophers, (2) husbandmen, (3) neatherds and shepherds, (4) artisans, (5) military, (6) overseers, (7) councillors and assessors. Out of these 1 and 5 correspond to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, 2–3 to vaiśyas, 4 to śūdras; 6th and 7th correspond to *adhyakṣas* and amātyas (as in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra) and are not really castes but occupations. He probably regards them as castes because the offices of the *adhyakṣas* and *amātyas* were generally hereditary or at least he gathered that they were so. Megasthenes' further statement (pp. 43–44) that 'no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste or to exercise any calling or art except his own' shows that the prevailing tendency was that caste had become exclusive and mostly occupational in his day, though there must have been exceptions of which he was not informed.

The ancient writers on dharmaśāstra strive very hard to account for the bewildering ramifications of the caste system from the four varṇas that were spoken of in the *śruti* (revelation). There is unanimity on the theory that the numerous castes actually found in the country arose from the unions of males of different varṇas with women belonging to *varṇas* differing from their own. The divergences (and they are

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many) among the several smṛtikāras relate only to details. The smṛti writers had before them the hoary theory of four varṇas vouched for by infallible Vedic authority, but they were at the same time quite cognisant of the realities in society viz. the separate existence of numerous castes and sub-castes that had varying claims as regards social status and that were based in popular estimation on birth alone. Therefore, when one criticizes the smṛti view of the derivation of numerous castes from the mixture or confusion (*saṁkara*) of the four varṇas as purely hypothetical and imaginary, the criticism is true only partially. The smṛtis were composed in different parts of India at different times and they were meant to supply a popular want, to guide the people and to reflect the prevailing state of society and popular feeling. Therefore, it must be admitted that the numerous castes mentioned in the smṛtis did exist at the time of the smṛtis, that the social status of the several castes might have varied from country to country or from epoch to epoch, that the peculiar avocations and means of livelihood assigned to the various castes reflected the real state of things. The element of hypothesis and speculation lies only in the theory of a particular sub-caste having sprung from the union of two persons belonging to two particular varṇas or castes.[121] This description of the origin of the several castes was only indicative of the author's view or of the accepted view about the social status of those castes in particular localities. There is here, as a matter of fact, great divergence of views among the several authors.

In the first place all writers on dharmaśāstra start with the propositions viz. (1) that the four *varṇas*, brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra, are arranged in a descending scale of social status; and (2) that marriage is or was permissible between a male of a higher varṇa with a woman of a lower varṇa, but the union of a woman of a higher varṇa with a male of varṇa lower than her own is reprehensible and not permitted. There is a third proposition advanced by many writers that a man belongs to a particular *varṇa* or *jāti* by birth only i. e. if born in lawful wedlock of parents both of whom belong to that varṇa

121. Śāntiparva (297. 7–9) says 'चतुर्णामेव वर्णानामागमः पुरुषर्षभ । अतोन्ये त्वतिरिक्ता ये ते वै संकरजाः स्मृताः ॥ क्षत्रियातिरथाम्बष्ठा उग्रा वैदेहकास्तथा । श्वपाकाः पुल्कसाः स्तेना निषादाः सूतमागधाः । अयोगाः करणा व्रात्याश्चाण्डालाश्च नराधिप । एते चतुर्भ्यो वर्णेभ्यो जायन्ते वै परस्परात् ॥'

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or jāti.[122] This is the view held by all medieval writers and digests and it is expressly said that a man belongs to a caste by birth and no actions of his can alter that fact, that several castes are like the species of animals and that caste attaches to the body and not to the soul (vide Sūtasaṁhitā). When a male of a higher varṇa marries a woman of a lower varṇa, the marriage is said to be *anuloma* (lit. with the hair, in the natural order) and the offspring is said to be anuloma; when there is a union of a woman of a higher *varṇa* with a male of a lower varṇa, it is said to be *pratiloma* (against the hair, i. e. against the natural or proper order) and the children of the union are said to be *pratiloma*. These two words *anuloma* and *pratiloma* (as applied to marriage or progeny) hardly ever occur in the vedic literature. In the Bṛ. Up. (II. 1. 15) and Kausitaki Bṛ. Up. IV. 18 (quoted in note 89 above) the word 'pratiloma' is applied to the procedure adopted by a brāhmaṇa of going to a kṣatriya for knowledge about *brahman*. From this it may possibly be inferred that pratiloma and anuloma might have been employed with reference to marriages also (in the days of the Upaniṣad). Pāṇini (IV. 4. 28) teaches the formation of words from anuloma and pratiloma. They occur in Gautama (IV. 14–15), Baud. Dh. S. (I. 8. 8), Vasiṣṭha (18. 7), Manu (X. 13), Yāj. (I. 95) and other smṛti works.

One important question is whether the theory of anuloma or pratiloma castes presupposes a marriage or only a union (outside marriage) of a man and a woman. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 13. 1, 3–4) lays down[123] that a man must marry a virgin of his own varṇa with the rites prescribed by the *śāstras* and only the son born of such a marriage is entitled to the privileges and occupation of his father, that sexual intercourse with a woman who has been married by another or on whom the proper ceremonies of marriage are not performed or who

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122. मनु. X. 5, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 1; या. I. 90. The mīmāṁsaka position is stated by the तन्त्रवार्तिक (on जै. I. 2. 1) 'न त्वाचारनिमित्तवर्णविभागे प्रमाणं किंचित्। ..... न तपआदीनां समुदायो ब्राह्मण्यं न तज्जनितः संस्कारः न तदभिव्यंग्या जातिः, किं तर्हि मातापितृजातिज्ञानाभिव्यंग्या प्रत्यक्षसमधिगम्या।'; the सूतसंहिता (शिवमाहात्म्यखण्ड 12. 51–52) says सर्वेषां जन्मना जातिर्नान्यथा कर्मकोटिभिः पश्चादीनां यथा जातिर्जन्मनैव न चान्यथा। सापि स्थूलस्य देहस्य भौतिकस्य न चात्मनः॥ जन्मनैव महाभागो ब्राह्मणो नाम जायते। शातातप quoted in आह्निकप्र. p. 452.

123. सवर्णापूर्वशास्त्रविहितायां यथार्तु गच्छतः पुत्रास्तेषां कर्मभिः सम्बन्धः। पूर्ववत्यामसंस्कृतायां वर्णान्तरे च मैथुने दोषः। तत्रापि दोषवान् पुत्र एव। आप. ध. सू. II. 6. 13. 1, 3 and 4.

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belongs to another caste is condemned and that the son (and not the daughter) born of such an union is condemned (through the sin of the parents). So Āpastamba looked with disfavour even on marriages called *anuloma*. He is entirely silent about anuloma and pratiloma castes. It is no doubt true that most ancient writers like Gautama (IV. 1), Vasiṣṭha (I. 24), Manu (III. 12–13), Yāj. (I. 55 and 57) prescribe that a person should by preference marry a girl of his own varṇa but also allow the marriage of a person with a girl of another varṇa lower than his own. Yāj. (I. 92) expressly says that the six *anuloma* castes, mūrdhāvasikta, ambaṣṭha, niṣāda, māhiṣya, ugra, and karaṇa are so called only when they are the offspring of women married by men of higher varṇas. Manu (X. 41) says that the six anuloma castes are entitled to the rites (saṁskāras like upanayana) performed for *dvijas*, but that the pratiloma castes are like śūdras (i. e. even when a pratiloma caste springs from a brāhmaṇa woman and a kṣatriya or vaiśya male they cannot have upanayana and other rites of *dvijas* performed for them, though both parents are *dvijas*). Kauṭilya[124] (III. 7) also says that all pratilomas except cāṇḍālas are like śūdras; Viṣṇu says that they are condemned by all Āryas. Devala[125] (quoted by Parāśara-mādhavīya I. 2. p. 122) says that pratilomas are outside the pale of the system of varṇas and are *patita*. The Smṛtyarthasāra p. 13 says that anuloma sons and those born of the mūrdhāvasikta and other anuloma castes are *dvijātis* and are entitled to saṁskāras as *dvijātis*. Commentators like Kullūka (on Manu X. 11) say that, as no marriage is legally possible between a woman of a higher varṇa and a male of a lower varṇa, all the pratilomas are born outside lawful wedlock. Gautama (IV. 20) says that all pratilomas are *dharmahīna*, which is interpreted by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 262 as meaning that they cannot have upanayana and similar saṁskāras of *dvijas* performed for them, though they are amenable to the rules of morality and entitled to perform vratas and *prāyaścittas*. Vasiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and several others do not make it clear whether, when they speak of *pratilomas*, they contemplate offspring of legal

124. शूद्रसधर्माणो वा अन्यत्र चण्डालेभ्यः । कौटिल्य III. 7; प्रतिलोमास्त्वार्य-विगर्हिताः । विष्णु 16. 3.

125. तेषां सवर्णजाः श्रेष्ठास्तेभ्योऽनन्तरगतुलोमजाः । अन्तराला बहिर्वर्णाः पतिताः प्रतिलोमजाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. I part 2 p. 122; एतेऽनुलोमजाः पुत्राः संस्कार्या स्युर्द्विजातयः । तथा मूर्धावसिक्ताद्विजातिजाश्च द्विजातयः ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 13.

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marriages or only of illegitimate and adulterous unions. But it will be seen from the list appended below that Uśanas and Vaikhānasa almost always make a distinction between the caste assigned to the offspring of the union of parents of different varṇas, according as there is a marriage between the two or it is only a clandestine, illegitimate or adulterous union. For example, Uśanas says[126] that when there is a marriage between a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa female, the offspring is called sūta, while the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa woman and a kṣatriya male was called rathakāra. So these two authors held that there could be a legal marriage when a woman of a higher varṇa married a male of a lower varṇa.[127] There were several other works like the Sūtasaṁhitā (Śivamāhātmyakhaṇḍa chap. 12. 12-48) where a similar distinction is made between the children of marriages and clandestine unions. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 90 says that such progeny as kuṇḍa and golaka (Manu III. 174), kānīna, sahoḍhaja (who are all not due to intercourse in wedlock) are different from savarṇa, anuloma and pratiloma and are to be treated as śūdras and that the *kṣetraja* son is to be treated as in a different category (since *niyoga* is allowed by the smṛtis and by the usage of śiṣṭas) and belongs to the caste of his mother. Aparārka (on Yāj. I. 92 p. 118) does not accept this view and holds that even kānīna and sahoḍha may be held to be brāhmaṇas (if the begetter can be proved to have been a brāhmaṇa); while Viśvarūpa on Yāj. II. 133 says that kānīna and gūḍhaja must be deemed to belong to the mother's caste as the begetter may not be known and that sahoḍhaja (II. 135) is also to be so treated. These several kinds of secondary sons will be treated under inheritance.

A few words must be said about the word *jāti*. The idea of varṇa was as we have seen based originally on race, culture, character and profession. It takes account mainly of the moral and intellectual worth of man and is a system of classes which appears more or less natural. The ideal of varṇa even in the smṛtis lays far more emphasis on duties, on a high standard of effort for the community or society rather than on the rights and privileges of birth. The system of jātis (castes) lays all emphasis on

126. नृपाद् ब्राह्मणकन्यायायां विवाहेषु समन्वयात्। जातः सूतोऽत्र निर्दिष्टः प्रतिलोमविधिर्द्विजः॥ ..... ब्राह्मण्यां क्षत्रियाच्चौर्याद्रथकारः प्रकीर्तितः। उशनस् vv. 2-5.

127. Vide Yāj. I. 95 which says that *pratilomajas* are *asat* condemned) and *anulomajas* are *sat* (good) i. e. entitled to the saṁskāras.

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birth and heredity and tends to create the mentality of clinging to privileges without trying to fulfil the obligations corresponding to such privileges. The word '*jāti*' in the sense of caste hardly ever occurs in the vedic literature. In the Nirukta[128] (XII. 13) it is said 'after *agnicayana* (the building of the fire altar), a man should not approach a *rāmā* (for sexual intercourse); *rāmā* is so called because she is approached only for pleasure and not for (accumulation of) merit; she is of a dark caste'. Here the word kṛṣṇajātīyā occurs with reference to a woman of the śūdra caste. Almost these very words occur in Vasiṣṭha (18. 17–18)[129] where for kṛṣṇajātīyā the word kṛṣṇavarṇā is substituted. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 56 (yad-ucyate etc.)[130] quotes these words as a brāhmaṇa text, but there the word is kṛṣṇavarṇīyā. Therefore, the use of the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the times of the Nirukta. Pāṇini (V. 4. 9)[131] teaches the formation of words like 'brāhmaṇajātīya' derived from words ending in 'jāti' (in the sense of caste). The expression 'jātidharma' (rules of castes) occurs in Gautama XI. 20, Vasiṣṭha I. 17 and XIX. 7, Manu I. 118 and VIII. 41 and the word jāti (caste) occurs also in Āp. Dh. S. II. 3. 6. 1, II. 1. 2. 3, Manu (IV. 141, X. 11, 18, 40, 97), Yāj. (I. 95, 361, II. 69, 206, III. 213), Nārada (ṛṇādāna 288) and in the vārtika on Pāṇini IV. 1. 137. Varṇa and jāti are sometimes clearly distinguished as in Yāj II. 69 and 206. But very often they are confounded. In Manu X. 27, 31 the word varṇa is used in the sense of mixed castes (*jātis*). Conversely the word jāti often appears to be used to indicate 'varṇa'. Vide Manu III. 15, VIII. 177, IX. 86 and 335, X. 41 and Yāj. I. 89 (in which latter sajāti appears to mean 'savarṇa').

Even when *anuloma* marriages were allowed there is no unanimity among the sages and the smṛtis as to the status of the progeny of such unions. Three different views are found. The first view is that if a male of one varṇa married a female of the varṇa immediately after it, the progeny belonged to the varṇa

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128. अग्निं चित्वा न रामासुपेयात्। रामा रमणायोपेयते न धर्माय कृष्णजातीया। निरुक्त XII. 13; the words 'अग्निं चित्वा ... पेयात्' occur in काठकसंहिता 21. 7.

129. नाग्निं चित्वा रामासुपेयात्। कृष्णवर्णा या रामा रमणायैव न धर्माय। वसिष्ठ 18. 17–18.

130. कृष्णवर्णीया रामा रमणायैवोपेयत इति ब्राह्मणवादः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 56.

131. जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि। पाणिनि V. 4. 9.

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of the father; e. g. Baud. Dh. S.[132] (I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3) says that sons born to a person of a savarṇa wife or a wife of the varṇa next to his own are savarṇa i. e. the son of a brāhmaṇa from a wife of the kṣatriya varṇa is a brāhmaṇa. The Anuśāsana-parva 48. 4, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 106) and Kauṭilya (III. 7) say the same. Gautama IV. 15 as interpreted by Haradatta appears to say that the off-spring of a brāhmaṇa from a kṣatriya wife is called savarṇa, but not the offspring of a kṣatriya male from a vaiśya wife or of a vaiśya male from a śūdra wife. Fick (pp. 54–57) shows that even according to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka 'the family of the mother does not matter; the family of the father alone is important'. The second view is that the progeny of *anuloma* unions is in status lower than the father, but higher than the mother; e. g. Manu X. 6 'sages declare the sons begotten by *dvijas* on wives of varṇas immediately next to theirs as similar (to the fathers, but not of the same varṇa with the fathers) but tainted by the inferiority of their mothers.' The third view (and this is the common view) is that the progeny of anuloma marriages is of the same varṇa as regards its privileges and obligations as the mother's; e. g. vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 2[133] and Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by the Mit. on Yāj I. 91 and Aparārka (p. 118). A classical echo of this view is found in the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa[134] where king Duṣyanta exclaims aside to himself 'would that this girl were born of the sage from a wife who was not savarṇa'. Medhātithi on Manu X. 6 says that Pāṇḍu, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Vidura being kṣetraja sons took the caste of their mothers. The Mit. explains the words of Śaṅkha by saying that the offspring of *anuloma* marriages such as mūrdhāvasikta are not really different from kṣatriyas, that they have the same *saṁskāras* but they do not become kṣatriyas etc. and are dubbed by these names to indicate their mixed origin and come to form separate sub-castes. The *pratilomas*, as said above, are lower in status than any of the two parents.

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132. तासु पुत्राः सवर्णानन्तरासु सवर्णाः। ब्राह्मणात्क्षत्रियायां ब्राह्मणः..... बौ. ध. I. 8. 6 and I. 9. 3; भार्याश्चतस्रो विप्रस्य द्वयोरात्मास्य जायते। अनुशासन 48. 4; सवर्णा ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः क्षत्रियायामनन्तरः। नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 106); ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिययोरनन्तरापुत्राः सवर्णा एकान्तरा असवर्णाः। कौटिल्य III. 7.

133. अनुलोमास्तु मातृसवर्णाः। विष्णु 16. 2; 'ब्राह्मणेन क्षत्रियायामुत्पादितः क्षत्रिय एव भवति। क्षत्रियेण वैश्यायामुत्पादितो वैश्य एव भवति। वैश्येन शूद्रायामुत्पादितः शूद्र एव भवति' शङ्ख in मिता. on या. I. 91.

134. अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षेत्रसंभवा स्यात्। शाकुन्तल I.

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The ancient dharmasūtras mention only a few mixed castes. Āp. Dh. S. mentions only cāṇḍāla, paulkasa and vaiṇa. Gautama names five anuloma castes, six pratiloma, one and eight others according to the view of some. Baudhāyana adds to those mentioned by Gautama a few more viz. rathakāra, śvapāka, vaiṇa and kukkuṭa. Vasiṣṭha names even a smaller number than Gautama and Baudhāyana. It is Manu (X) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (XVI) that for the first time dilate upon the avocations of the mixed castes. Manu refers to 6 anuloma, 6 pratiloma and 20 doubly mixed castes and states the avocations of about 23; Yāj. names only 13 castes (other than the four varṇas). Uśanas names about 40 and gives their peculiar avocations. All the smṛtis taken together hardly mention more than about one hundred castes.

The number of primary *anulomas* is only six (vide Manu X. 10, Yāj I. 91–92), but Manu names only three of them, viz. ambaṣṭha, niṣāda and ugra. The primary pratilomas also are six (vide Manu X. 11–12 and 16–17 and Yāj. I. 93–94) viz. sūta, vaidehaka, cāṇḍāla, māgadha, kṣatṛ, and āyogava. Further sub-castes are said to arise from the unions of the anulomas and pratilomas with the four varṇas and of the male of one anuloma and the female of another, from the union of pratilomas among themselves and from the union of a male or female of an *anuloma* caste and the female or male of a *pratiloma* caste. For example, Yāj. I. 95 defines rathakāra as the offspring of a māhiṣya male and a karaṇa female, i. e. it is a further mixture between two anuloma castes. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 95 says that upanayana and other *saṁskāras* are performed for the offspring of anuloma persons marrying among themselves. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 13) says the same[135]. Similarly Manu X. 15 says that āvṛta and ābhīra spring from the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ugra girl and an ambaṣṭha girl respectively (i. e. from the union of a brāhmaṇa with *anuloma* caste girls). Manu X. 19 says that śvapāka is the offspring of a kṣatṛ male (a pratiloma) with an ugra female (an anuloma). Manu X. 33 defines maitreyaka as the offspring of a vaidehaka male and an āyogava female (i.e. from parents who are both pratiloma). A

135. एवं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियोत्पन्न-मूर्धावसिक्तमाहिष्यादृग्लोमसङ्करे जात्यन्तरता उपनयनादिप्राप्तिश्च वेदितव्या तयोर्द्विजातित्वात् । मिता. on या. I. 95 ; एतेऽनुलोमजाः पुत्राः संस्कार्याः स्युर्द्विजातिजाः । तथा मूर्धावसिक्तादिजातिजाश्च द्विजातयः ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 13.

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smṛti verse quoted[136] by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 95 says that there are six anulomas, 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the union of the six anulomas with the four varṇas), 6 pratilomas and 24 doubly mixed castes (due to the unions of 6 pratilomas with four varṇas) i. e. in all 60 and further mixtures of these among themselves give rise to innumerable sub-castes. Similarly Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 7 [137] says that the further mixed castes arising from the unions of mixed castes are numberless. This shows that before the time of the Viṣṇudharmasūtra (i. e. at least about 2000 years ago) numberless castes and sub-castes had been formed and the writers on dharmaśāstra practically gave up in despair the task of deriving them, even though mediately, from the primary varṇas. The same state of things was continued and was rather aggravated by the time of the *nibandhakāras*. Medhātithi on Manu X. 31 speaks of 60 mixed castes along with the four varṇas and adds that by the intermingling of these endless sub castes are formed. The Mitākṣarā[138] on Yāj. I. 95 observes that since the castes springing from the double intermingling of varṇas are innumerable, it is impossible to describe or enumerate them. Similarly the Kṛtyakalpataru in its *prakīrṇaka* topic of *vyavahāra* section, when dealing with castes, merely quotes several passages from the smṛtis and does not add a word of its own about the castes, their names or avocations in its own day (first half of 12th century). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 94[139] expressly says that the avocations of the pratilomas (about which Yāj. is silent) should be understood from the smṛtis of Uśanas and Manu. Medieval writers on dharmaśāstra usually ignore the treatment in detail of the numerous sub-castes and content themselves with dilating upon the duties of the four varṇas.

There was great diversity of opinion among the smṛtikāras about the derivation and status of the several sub-castes. We find that the same sub-caste is known under five or six different names even so early as the present Manusmṛti.

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136. प्रातिलोम्यानुलोम्येन वर्णैस्तज्जैश्च वर्णतः । षष्ट्येवान्ये प्रजायन्ते तत्प्रसूतेस्त्वनन्तता ॥ quoted by विश्वरूप on या. I. 95. It is quoted also by परा. मा. I. part 2 p. 125 and both say that these are वर्णाभासs ; the परा. मा. says that further *saṁkaras* are जात्याभासs.

137. संकरसंकराश्चासंख्येयाः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 16. 7.

138. संकीर्णसंकरजातीनामानन्त्याद्वक्तुमशक्यत्वात् । मिता० on या. I. 95

139. एतेषां च वृत्तय औशनसे मानवे च द्रष्टव्याः । मिता० on या. I. 94.

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Manu X. 22 gives seven names for the same caste and Manu X. 23 gives five for another. Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 92 explains that these different names are due to difference of locality.[140] There is another difficulty. The same name given to a caste is differently derived by different writers (vide under niṣāda and pāraśava below). For the same sub-caste different names are given in different smṛtis (vide under kṛta and rāmaka). It became difficult to assign any peculiar derivation for groups of people and so Manu (X. 40), Vasiṣṭha[141] (18.7) and Anuśāsana-parva 148. 29 laid down that men's sub-caste was to be known from their actions and occupations. This shows that according to most writers castes in the times of the smṛtis were predominantly occupational.

One word that frequently occurs in connection with castes and sub-castes is *varṇasaṁkara* (or only *saṁkara*). In Manu X. 12 and 24 the word varṇasaṁkara is used in the plural in the sense of mixed castes, while in Manu X. 40 (and in V. 89) the word *saṁkara* seems to be used in the sense of 'mixture or intermingling of varṇas'. Gautama (VIII. 3) employs the word *saṁkara* and says 'on the two (the brāhmaṇa and the king) depends the prosperity (of men), protection, the prevention of mixture (of varṇas) and the (accumulation of) merit (or the observance of dharma).[142] Nārada (strīpuṁsa 102)[143] says 'to be born from a union in the inverse order of varṇas amounts to *varṇasaṁkara*;' while Bṛhaspati quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru appears to apply the word varṇasaṁkara to both anuloma and pratiloma castes. Baud.[144] Dh. S. (I. 9. 16) says that those who are born of

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140. अत एव स्मृत्यन्तरेष्वेकस्यैवार्थस्यानेकसंज्ञादर्शनेपि देशभेदेन तथाविधप्रयोगसत्तानुमानम्। न पुनः पारिभाषिकत्वकल्पना वेदेष्वप्यनेकविधसंज्ञोपलब्धेः। विश्वरूप on या. I. 92–93 ; vide also पराशरमाधवीय I. part 2 p. 120 'एकस्यामेव जातौ मूर्धावसिक्तसवर्णसंज्ञयोर्विकल्पेन प्रवृत्तत्वात्। न चैकत्र संज्ञाविकल्पे दृष्टान्ताभावः। एकत्र निषादपारशवविकल्पस्य मनुदेवलयाज्ञवल्क्यैरुदाहृतत्वात्।'

141. छन्नोत्पन्नाश्च ये केचित्प्रातिलोम्यगुणाश्रिताः। गुणाचारपरिभ्रंशात्कर्मभिस्तान् विजानीयुरिति। वसिष्ठ 18.7.

142. प्रसूतिरक्षणमसंकरो धर्मः। गौ. VIII. 3.

143. प्रातिलोम्येन यज्जन्म स ज्ञेयो वर्णसंकरः। नारद (स्त्रीपुंस 102); ब्राह्मणक्षत्रविट्शूद्रा वर्णाश्चान्त्यास्त्रयो द्विजाः। प्रतिलोमानुलोमाश्च ते ज्ञात्वा (ज्ञेया ?) वर्णसंकराः॥ बृहस्पति in कृत्यकल्पतरु (ṃṣ).

144. वर्णसंकरादुत्पन्नान् व्रात्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः। बो. ध. सू. I. 9. 16.

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varṇasaṁkara are called *vrātyas*. The Mit. on Yāj I. 96 applies the word varṇasaṁkara to both anuloma and pratiloma progeny. Medhātithi[145] on Manu V. 88 says that the word 'saṁkarajāta' indicates pratilomas like āyogava and that even though as regards anulomas there is intermingling (of varṇas), yet as they have the privileges of the caste of their mothers, even Manu himself does not apply the word *saṁkīrṇayoni* to them as seen above (Manu X. 25). Yama[146] quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru says 'Varṇasaṁkara arises by the violation of the restrictions (about marriage); if the proper order of varṇas (i. e. male of higher varṇa marrying a woman of a lower varṇa) is followed, (the offspring) is entitled to be regarded as belonging to the system of varṇas, but if the reverse order is followed it is sin.' Manu (X. 24) says 'mixed castes arise by members of one varṇa having sexual intercourse with women of another varṇa, by marrying women who ought not to have been married (such as a sagotra girl) and by neglect of the duties peculiar to one's varṇa'. The Anuśāsanaparva 48. 1[147] remarks that 'varṇasaṁkara arises from wealth, greed, desires, uncertainty about the varṇa (of a person) or ignorance about varṇa'. Even in such a philosophical treatise as the Bhagavad-gītā (I. 41-43), it is said 'when women become corrupt (or demoralised), intermingling of varṇas arises; *saṁkara* necessarily leads the whole family and the destroyer of the family to hell. By reason of these transgressions of the destroyers of families which bring about *varṇasaṁkara*, the ancient caste observances and family observances are subverted.'

On account of the great emphasis laid on the prevention of *varṇasaṁkara* the smṛtis ordain that it is one of the principal duties of the king to punish people if they transgress the rules prescribed for varṇas and to punish men and women if guilty of *varṇasaṁkara*. Gautama (XI. 9-10) says 'the king should protect the varṇas and āśramas according to the śāstras and he should make them conform to their duties when they swerve

145. सकरजाता इतरेतरजातिव्यतिकरेण प्रतिलोमा आयोगवादयः । अनुलोमास्तु सत्यपि संकीर्णयोनित्वे मातृजातीयत्वादधिकारित्वाच्च नेह गृह्यन्ते । न चानुलोमेषु संकीर्णयोनिव्यवहारः संकीर्णयोनयस्त्वेताः प्रतिलोमानुलोमजा इति । मेधा० on मनु. V. 88.

146. मर्यादाया विलोपेन जायते वर्णसंकरः। आनुलोम्येन वर्णत्वं प्रतिलोम्येन पातकम्॥ यम quoted in MS. of कृत्यकल्पतरु (व्यवहार, प्रकीर्णक).

147. अर्थाल्लोभात्कामाद्वा वर्णानां चाप्यनिश्चयात्। अज्ञानाद्वापि वर्णानां जायते वर्णसंकरः॥ अनुशासन 48. 1.

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from them;' Vasiṣṭha (19. 7-8) 'the king paying attention to all these viz. the observances of countries, castes and families should make the four varṇas conform to their duties and should punish them when they go astray'; Viṣṇu Dh. S. III. 3 and Yāj. I. 361, Mārkaṇḍeyapuārṇa 27, Matsyapurāṇa 215. 63 say the same. Nārada (strīpuṁsa 113)[148] says 'when a brāhmaṇa woman goes astray a cāṇḍāla is born from a śūdra male (and the brāhmaṇa woman); therefore the king should specially protect women from saṁkara'. It is on account of this that so early as in the first centuries of the Christian era we see that king Vāsiṭhīputa Siri Puḷumāyi is extolled as having prevented the mixture of the four varṇas (E. I. vol. VIII pp. 60-61, 'vinivatitacātuvaṇa-sakarasa).' That varṇasaṁkara had gone too far in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 180. 31-33) follows from the following words which are despairingly put in the mouth of Yudhiṣṭhira[149] "It appears to me that it is very difficult to ascertain the caste of human beings on account of the confusion of all varṇas; all sorts of men are always begetting offspring from all sorts of women; speech, sexual intercourse, being born and death-these are common to all human beings; and there is scriptural authority (for this view) in the words 'We, whoever we are, offer the sacrifice'. Hence those who have seen the truth regard character as the principal thing desired." Śaṁkarācārya in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 3. 33 remarks that, though in his day varṇas and āśramas had become disorganised and unstable as to their dharmas, that was not the case in other ages, since otherwise the śāstras laying down regulations for them would have to be deemed purposeless or futile.[150]

Gautama (IV. 18-19), Manu (X. 64-65) and Yāj. (I. 96) speak of a peculiar doctrine called *Jātyutkarṣa* and *Jātyapakarṣa*. These passages have given rise to some divergence of interpreta-

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148. चाण्डालो जायते शूद्राद् ब्राह्मणी यत्र सुह्यति । तस्माद्राज्ञा विशेषेण स्त्रियो रक्ष्यास्तु संकरात् ॥ नारद स्त्रीपुंस 113; vide also नारद (प्रकीर्णक 2-6).

149. जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते । संकरात्सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मतिः॥ सर्व सर्वास्वपत्यानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः । वाङ्मैथुनमथो जन्म मरणं च समं नृणाम् ॥ इदमार्ष प्रमाणं च य यजामह इत्यपि । तस्माच्छीलं प्रधानेष्टं विदुर्ये तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ वनपर्व 180. 31-33.

150. इदानीमिव च कालान्तरेपि अव्यवस्थितमायान्वर्णधर्मान् प्रतिजानीत । सतश्च व्यवस्थाविधायि शास्त्रमनर्थकं स्यात् । शाङ्करभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र I. 3. 33.

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tion, but their general sense is clear. Gautama (IV. 18)[151] says that according to the ācāryas the *anulomas* when they marry in such a way that the bridegroom in each stage is higher or lower than the bride they rise to a higher or go down to a lower varṇa in the 7th or 5th generation (respectively). This is explained by Haradatta as follows: When a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman the daughter born of this marriage is called *savarṇā*; if this latter is married to a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and this latter is again married by a brāhmaṇa and if this continues in the same way for seven generations, then when the 7th girl in descent marries a brāhmaṇa, whatever child is born of that union belongs to the brāhmaṇa *varṇa* (though in the preceding generations only the fathers were brāhmaṇas and the mothers were all not strictly brāhmaṇas, but only *savarṇās* if at all). This is called *jātyutkarṣa* (rise in status as a caste). On the other hand, when a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya girl and a son is born who is called *savarṇa*, then that son marries a kṣatriya girl and has a son and this is continued for *five generations*, then when the fifth son (in descent) marries a kṣatriya girl, the child born belongs to the kṣatriya varṇa (though in all the preceding generations the father was higher than kṣatriya and the mother only was a kṣatriya). This is *jātyapakarṣa* (fall in status as a caste). The same rule holds good as regards a kṣatriya marrying a vaiśya female and a vaiśya marrying a śūdra female. The same rule applies among anulomas also e. g. if a *savarṇa* (as defined by Gautama) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a daughter is born who again marries a *savarṇa* and this continues for seven generations, then the child of the 7th girl (in descent) from a *savarṇa* male becomes a *savarṇa* (rises in status); on the other hand if a savarṇa (offspring of brāhmaṇa male and kṣatriya female) marries an ambaṣṭha girl and a son is born and that son marries an ambaṣṭha girl and their son marries an ambaṣṭha girl and this goes on for seven generations, then the child of

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151. वर्णान्तरगमनमुत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्यां सप्तमे पञ्चमे वाचार्याः। सृष्ट्यन्तरजातानां च। गौतम IV. 18-19. In S. B. E. vol. II. pp. 196-197 the sūtras are arranged differently i. e. the first ends at 'saptame' and pañcame...ryāḥ is another sūtra. Though this method makes a good sense it is opposed to the explanation of Haradatta, who explains that the option allowed by the use of 'vā' in the sūtra applies only where there is pre-eminence of character and learning (i. e. in such a case rise is possible even in the 5th generation).

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the 7th male (in descent) born of an ambaṣṭha wife becomes an ambaṣṭha (i. e. there is jātyapakarṣa as to anulomas).

According to Manu[152] X. 64 when a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman, the daughter born is pāraśava, and if this pāraśava daughter marries a brāhmaṇa and the daughter of this latter union marries a brāhmaṇa and this continues for seven generations, then the seventh generation will be a brāhmaṇa (i. e. there will be jātyutkarṣa). Conversely, if a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a son is born, he is a pāraśava and that son marries a śūdra woman and their son again marries a śūdra woman and this goes on for 7 generations, the 7th generation becomes a mere śūdra (there is jātyapakarṣa). It will be seen that this differs from Gautama in several respects. In the first place for both jātyutkarṣa and jātyapakarṣa seven generations are prescribed, while in Gautama they are 7 and 5 respectively (according to Haradatta). In the second place according to Gautama the 8th in descent from the first anuloma marriage secures jātyutkarṣa, while according to Manu, the 7th secures it. Further Manu is silent about jātyutkarṣa when the original parents are anulomas. Besides, the commentators of Manu shorten the period for rise or fall in *jāti* as stated below. Manu X. 65 extends the same rules to the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman and of a vaiśya with a śūdra woman. Medhātithi and Kullūka extend these express words of Manu further by explaining that if a brāhmaṇa marries a vaiśya female and a daughter is born and she again marries a brāhmaṇa then in the fifth generation there will be jātyutkarṣa ; conversely if a son is born from a brāhmaṇa and a vaiśya wife, and he marries

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152. The word 'yuga' is understood by Medhātithi (on Manu X. 64) and Kullūka to mean 'janma'; Sarvajña-nārāyaṇa understands it to mean 'yugma' (pair of spouses). The meaning (yugma) is attached to 'yuga' by Aparārka on Yāj. I. 96 (p. 119). In the S. B. E. vol. II p. 196 Dr. Bühler compares Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.10. 10–11 with Gautama IV. 22. But the great scholar is not accurate here. Āp. does not speak of progeny of mixed marriages rising to higher status or being degraded to lower status after several generations; he rather speaks of a śūdra rising higher and higher in successive births. In the Anuśāsanaparva (chap. 27. 5-6, 28. 6-13) it is said that after numberless births śūdras and others become vaiśyas and so on. Vanaparva (212. 11–12) gives expression to the same idea शूद्रयोनौ हि जातस्य सद्गुणान्नुपतिष्ठतः। वैश्यत्वं लभते ब्रह्मन् क्षत्रियत्वं तथैव च ॥ आर्जवे वर्तमानस्य ब्राह्मण्यमभिजायते। वनपर्व 212. 11–12.

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a vaiśya female and this goes on, then in the fifth generation the son will be a vaiśya (i. e. there will be jātyapakarṣa). Similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman then there is jātyutkarṣa or jātyapakarṣa in three generations.

Yājñavalkya (I. 96)[153] speaks of two kinds of *jātyutkarṣa* or *jātyapakarṣa* viz. one due to marriage (as in Manu and Gautama) and another due to the avocation followed. 'It should be understood that there is rise in caste in the 7th or even in the 5th generation; if there is inversion as to the avocations, then there is corresponding similarity (of varṇa in the 7th or even 5th generation).' This is elaborated by the Mitākṣarā as follows:— If a brāhmaṇa marries a śūdra woman and a daughter is born she is a niṣādī; if this latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and she in turn marries a brāhmaṇa and this goes on for six generations, then the child of the 6th girl (in descent) becomes a brāhmaṇa (he being 7th in descent); similarly if a brāhmaṇa marries a vaiśya woman and a girl is born, she is an ambaṣṭha; if the latter marries a brāhmaṇa and a daughter is born and this goes on in the same way, then the fifth girl in descent has a child (from a brāhmaṇa husband) which is the 6th in descent from the original anuloma marriage and which then becomes a brāhmaṇa. If a brāhmaṇa marries a kṣatriya woman and a daughter is born who is called mūrdhāvasiktā (Yāj. I. 91) and she marries a brāhmaṇa, then the fourth in descent marrying a brāhmaṇa has a child (5th in descent), then that child becomes a brāhmaṇa. Similarly, if a kṣatriya married a śūdra female and a daughter was born, she was called ugra, then jātyutkarṣa by marrying a higher male took place in the 6th generation. If a kṣatriya married a vaiśya woman, the daughter born was a māhiṣyā and jātyutkarṣa took place in the 5th generation. If a vaiśya married a śūdra woman, the daughter of the marriage is a karaṇī and if she marries a vaiśya, then in the fifth generation there would be jātyutkarṣa. Certain peculiar avocations and activities are prescribed for the four varṇas. Each varṇa may in times of difficulty follow the occupation peculiar to the caste immediately below it, but should not follow the avocations peculiar to the higher varṇas;[154] he must however revert to his proper avocation when the difficulty is

153. जात्युत्कर्षो युगे ज्ञेयः सप्तमे पञ्चमेपि वा । व्यत्यये कर्मणां साम्यं पूर्ववच्चाधरोत्तरम् ॥ या. I. 96.

154. अजीवन्तः स्वधर्मेणानन्तरां यवीयसीं वृत्तिमातिष्ठेरन् । न तु कदाचिज्ज्यायसीम् । वसिष्ठ II. 22–23.

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over (vide Vasiṣṭha II. 13–23, Viṣṇu Dh. S. II. 15, Yāj. I. 118–120, Gautama X. 1–7 &c.). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a śūdra and has a son, who does the same and this goes on continuously for seven generations, the 7th becomes a śūdra (by caste). If a brāhmaṇa begins to follow the avocations peculiar to a vaiśya or a kṣatriya then in the 5th or 6th generation respectively there is fall in caste (i. e. the 5th or 6th becomes respectively a vaiśya or kṣatriya). Similarly if a kṣatriya follows the avocation of a vaiśya or śūdra and this goes on continuously, then the 5th or 6th (respectively) becomes a śūdra or vaiśya. Similarly if a vaiśya takes to the work peculiar to śūdras, then the fifth generation becomes śūdra.

Baud.[155] Dh. S. (I. 8. 13–14) gives another illustration of jātyutkarṣa. He says 'if a niṣāda (the son of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra wife) marries a niṣādī (and this goes on continuously), then the fifth generation becomes free of the taint of a śūdra status, he can have upanayana performed for him and his son (6th from the original niṣāda pair) can have a vedic sacrifice performed for him.'

These provisions would considerably lessen the rigour of the caste system based purely on birth. But one feels grave doubts whether such a method of jātyutkarṣa or jātyapakarṣa (particularly the one based on occupation) was or could be ever enforced in actual life. It would have been impossible to remember descent in a particular way for five or seven generations. The want of unanimity among the original smṛtikāras and the commentators also points in the direction that the method advocated, though it might have originally some slight basis in fact, was only a hypothesis and an ideal. Hardly any examples of jātyutkarṣa in the way set out by Manu or Yāj. occur in the literature on dharma-śāstra or in inscriptions. In the inscriptions we have authentic cases of intercaste marriages only, but hardly anything further[156]. From the Talgunḍa pillar inscription of king Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba family we learn that the Kadambas were originally of brāhmaṇa lineage, that the founder of the family was a brāhmaṇa

155. निषादेन निषाद्यामापञ्चमाज्जातोऽपहन्ति शूद्रताम् । तमुपनयेत्यष्ठं याजयेत् । बौ. ध. सू. I. 8. 13–14.

156. Vide my paper published in the Journal portion of 38 Bombay Law Reporter on 'Inter-caste marriages in modern India, in the smṛtis and epigraphic records,' where several instances of inter-caste marriages are cited.

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Mayūraśarman, who became exasperated with the Pallavas of Kāñcīpura and took up the sword to conquer the earth, that his descendants applied the affix 'varman' to their names (as if they were kṣatriyas, according to Manu II. 32) and Kākusthavarman (4th in descent from Mayūraśarman) married his daughters to Gupta and other kings[157]. This shows that an originally brāhmaṇa family came to look upon itself as kṣatriya by virtue of pursuing the profession of arms and governing the people. In the Mahābhārata we meet with stories of kings who became brāhmaṇas. For example, Anuśāsana 30 speaks of Vītahavya, a king, as having become a brāhmaṇa; similarly Śalya (39. 36–37) speaks of Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Sindhudvīpa, Devāpi and Viśvāmitra as having become brāhmaṇas at a sacred spot on the Sarasvatī. In the Purāṇas also there are stories[158] of kings like Viśvāmitra, Māndhātā, Saṁkṛti, Kapi, Vadhryaśva, Purukutsa, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ajamīḍha and others as having risen to the status of brāhmaṇas. These are mythical sages and their rise is not stated to have been due to the principle of jātyutkarṣa[159]. Ibbetson (Report on the census of the Punjab 1881, pp. 174-176) notes that brāhmaṇas following certain professions became degraded and that the caste was changed.

That the professional castes were wealthy and well organized follows from the dharmaśāstra works and epigraphic records. In this connection the words śreṇi, pūga, gaṇa, vrāta and saṅgha deserve to be carefully studied. All these were called *samūha* (group) or *varga* according to Kātyāyana.[160] These

157. E. I. vol. 8 p. 24.

158. Vide Vāyupurāṇa (B. I. Ed.) vol. II chap. 29. 111–114.

159. Compare the following lucid note of the पराशरमाधवीय I. part 2 p. 122 कूटस्थस्त्रीपुंसयुगमारभ्य परिगणनायां पञ्चमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वानुलोम्येन युग्मे जातिरुत्कृष्यते। पुमान् विप्रः वधूः शूद्रा तयोर्युग्मं कूटस्थम्। तस्मादुत्पन्ना निषादी सापि विप्रेणोढा तयोर्युग्मं द्वितीयम्। एवं तदुत्पन्नायां वध्वां विप्रेणोढायां तृतीयादियुग्मपरंपरा भवति। तत्र सप्तमे युगे जातमपत्यं ब्राह्मण्योपेतं भवति। एवं वैश्याविप्रयुगलं कूटस्थम्। तस्मादुत्पन्ना अम्बष्ठा तस्याश्च विप्रस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम्। एवं.....षष्ठं यद्युग्मं तस्मादुत्पन्नस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति। तथा क्षत्रियाविप्रयोर्युग्मं कूटस्थं तदुत्पन्ना मूर्धावसिक्ता तस्याश्च विप्रस्य च युग्मं द्वितीयम्। तत्परंपरायां पञ्चमाद्युग्मादुत्पन्नस्य ब्राह्मण्यं भवति। एतदुक्तं भवति पञ्चमे षष्ठे सप्तमे वेति व्यवस्थितविकल्पाः कूटस्थदम्पत्योः समनन्तरैकान्तरद्व्यन्तरजातियोगे पञ्चमादयोऽवगन्तव्या इति। तथा च सति शूद्रावैश्ययोः वैश्याक्षत्रिययोश्च समनन्तरत्वात्पञ्चमे, शूद्राक्षत्रिययोस्तु षष्ठे जातिरुत्कृष्यते। ..... यथा वर्णसांकर्ये प्रातिलोम्यमधममानुलोम्यमुत्तमं तथा वृत्तिसांकर्येपि। तथा क्षत्रियस्यापद्यपि याजनादिब्राह्मणवृत्युपजीवनमधमम्।

160. गणाः पाषण्डपूगाश्च व्राताश्च श्रेणयस्तथा। समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गाख्यास्ते बृहस्पतिः। कात्या० quoted in स्मृतिच. (on व्यव. p. 18), वि. र. p. 669.

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words occur in the Vedic literature, but the sense is generally 'a group' and there is no special meaning attached. 'Śreṇi' occurs in the Ṛg. I. 163. 10 [161] (like flamingoes the horses press forward in rows or groups); both *vrāta* and *gaṇa* occur in Ṛg. III. 26. 6, V. 53. 11 and in numerous other places. The Kauṣītaki Br. 16. 7[162] speaks of Rudra as pūga (as he is the head of the band of Maruts). Āp. Dh. S. I. 1. 3. 26[163] quotes a Brāhmaṇa passage about a group (saṅgha) of brahmacārins going about for alms. Pāṇini teaches[164] the formation of derivatives from pūga, gaṇa, saṅgha (V. 2. 52), from vrāta (V. 2. 21). In his time it appears the words had acquired specific meanings. The Mahābhāṣya explains (on Pāṇini V. 2. 21) that vrātas are groups formed by men of various castes with no fixed means of livelihood but subsisting by the might (or strength) of their bodies (by bodily labour of various kinds). The Kāśika[165] explains pūgas as associations of men of different castes with no fixed professions, who are solely bent on making money or seeking pleasure. Kauṭilya in one place distinguishes between soldiers and śreṇis (guilds) and in another place says that the guilds of kṣatriyas in Kāmbhoja and Surāṣṭra subsist by the profession of arms and vārtā (agriculture).[166] Vas. Dh. S. XVI. 15 says that boundary disputes are to be settled by the evidence of the old men in the village or town or of guilds (śreṇi) when there is conflict of documentary evidence. Viṣṇu Dh. S. V. 167 prescribes banishment for him who embezzles the wealth of associations (gaṇa) and who transgresses the conventions made by them. Manu (VIII. 219) has a similar rule about village and local associations (saṅgha). The above words are variously explained by the several commen-

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161. हंसा इव श्रेणिशो यतन्ते यदाक्षिषुर्दिव्यमज्ममश्वाः। ऋ. I. 163. 10.

162. पूगो वै रुद्रः। तदेनं स्वेन पूगेन समर्धयति। कौषी० ब्रा. 16. 7.

163. तस्माद्धु ह वै ब्रह्मचारिसङ्घं चरन्तं न प्रत्याचक्षीतापि हैतेष्वेवंविध एवंव्रतः स्यादिति हि ब्राह्मणम्। आप. ध. सू. I. 1. 3. 26.

164. व्रातेन जीवति। पा. V. 2. 21 (व्रातीन); बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक्। पा. V. 2. 52.

165. नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तय उत्सेधजीविनः सङ्घा व्राताः तेषां कर्म व्रातं तेन व्रातकर्मणा जीवतीति व्रातीनः। महाभाष्य vol. II. p. 374 (on पा. V. 2. 21); नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगाः। काशिका on पा. V. 2. 21.

166. आयुधीयप्रायः श्रेणीप्रायो वा मे जनपदः। अर्थशास्त्र VII. 1. p. 265; काम्भोजसुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः। अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1. p. 378; प्रत्यभिलेख्यविरोधे ग्रामनगरवृद्धश्रेणीप्रत्ययः। वसिष्ठ 16. 15.

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tators (vide my notes to the translation of Kātyāyana verses[167] 678–682 of that reconstructed smṛti). Kātyāyana says '*Naigama* is an association of citizens of the same city, vrāta is a company of soldiers carrying various arms, pūga is an association of traders and the like, gaṇa is a group of brāhmaṇas, saṅgha is a body of Bauddhas or Jainas; and bands of cāṇḍālas and śvapacas are called gulma.' Yāj. (I. 361) directs the king to punish kulas, castes, śreṇis, gaṇas, if they transgress their rules (of conduct or business) and the Mit. explains śreṇi as a guild of sellers of betel leaves and the like and gaṇa as of 'helābukas' (horse-dealers); while Yāj. II. 192 and Nārada[168] (samayasyānapākarma 2) require the king to prevent the breach of the conventions of śreṇi, naigama, pūga, vrāta, gaṇa and to confirm them in their traditional occupations. Yāj. II. 30 says that pūgas and śreṇis had authority to investigate disputes and that the pūga was a higher tribunal than the śreṇi. The Mit. on this explains that pūga is an association of people of different castes and different occupations that stay in one locality, while a śreṇi is a group of people of different castes, that subsist by the occupation of one caste and gives 'heḍābukas' 'tāmbūlikas' (betel sellers), 'kuvindas' (weavers) and 'carmakāras' (shoe-makers) as examples of śreṇis. In the Harṣa stone of Chāhamāna Vigraharāja (E. I. vol. II. p. 124) there is a reference to one *dramma* for each horse given to 'heḍāvikas.' In the Nasik Inscription No. 15 (E. I. vol. VIII p. 88) we are told that in the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena 1000 kārṣāpaṇas were deposited with an association of potters as a permanent donation yielding interest, 500 with a guild of oilmen and 2000 with a guild of watermen (*udaka-yantra-śreṇi*) for medicines to be given to sick bhikṣus. No. 9 and No. 12 of the inscriptions at Nasik also contain reference to deposits of money with the guild of weavers. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of Huviṣka's reign mentions a guild of flour-makers (samitakara, vide E. I. vol. 21 p. 55 at p. 61). The Junnar Buddhist cave Inscription (A. S. W. I. vol. IV p. 97) refers to an investment of monies with the guild (śreṇi) of bamboo-workers and of braziers (kāsakāra). The Indore copperplate of Skandagupta (of the Gupta saṁvat 146) speaks of the deposit with the guilds of the

167. These verses are quoted in the विवादरत्नाकर pp. 618–669, स्मृतिच०, वीरमित्रोदय p. 426., परा. मा. (on व्यव.) p. 352 &c.

168. पाषण्डनैगमश्रेणीपूगव्रातगणादिषु । संरक्षेत्समयं राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा ॥ नारद (समयस्यानपाकर्म 2).

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oilmen of Indrapura for permanently securing a supply of two *palas* of oil (C. I. I. vol. III p. 70). Similarly it is said that a guild of silk weavers from Lāṭa (southern Gujerat) came to Daśapura (Dasor in Malwa) and built a temple of the sun in the Mālava year 494 i. e. 437–38 A. D. (C. I. I. vol. III p. 81 = I. A. vol. 15 p. 194). These examples show that about the first centuries of the Christian era such castes as woodworkers, oilmen, betel sellers and weavers that are at present very low in the hierarchy of castes had very efficient caste guilds, so famous for their organization, integrity and stability that people deposited with them thousands for permanent services to objects of charity.[169]

We shall now append a list of several castes enumerated or mentioned in smṛti and other dharmaśāstra works from about 500 B. C. to 1000 A. D. in alphabetical (Sanskrit) order. They are not given in a tabular form owing to numerous contradictory statements in the smṛtis themselves. References are given only to a few smṛtis, the principal ones drawn upon being the Dharmasūtras, Manu, Yāj., Vaik. smārta-sūtra X. 11–15, Uśanas, the Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva-māhātmya-khaṇḍa chap. 12). It is hoped that the list is fairly exhaustive for the smṛti period. It will be noticed that many of the caste names collected here still occur under the same forms or under slightly modified forms of the names.

Andhra. Vide above note 118 quoting the Ait. Br. Manu X. 36 says it was a low subcaste sprung from Vaidehaka father and Kārāvara mother and that Andhras were to live outside the village and to subsist (X. 48) by killing wild beasts. In the edicts of Aśoka the Andhras are associated with Pulindas (vide Rock Edict No. 13). The Udyogaparva (160. 103) mentions Andhras (probably as people of Andhradeśa) along with Draviḍas and Kāñcyas. In the Nālandā plate of Devapāladeva (E. I. vol. 17 p. 321) meda, andhraka and cāṇḍāla are spoken of as the lowest castes. In Orissa one scheduled caste is noted as Ādi-Andhra (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Antya. According to Vas. Dh. S. 16.30, Manu IV. 79, VIII. 68, Yāj. I. 148, 197, Atri 251, Likhita 92, verse Āpastamba (III. 1) this word is a generic appellation for all lowest castes

169 Vide 'Local Government in Ancient India' by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji pp. 29–34, 44 for pūga, śreṇi, gaṇa and saṅgha. Unfortunately some of the references (as printed) are wrong and not in point.

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like the cāṇḍāla. Vide the chapter on 'untouchables'. The word 'bāhya' has the same sense. Āp. Dh. S. I. 3. 9. 18 says that there is a cessation of Vedic study on the day on which *bāhya* senter a village; vide also Nārada (ṛṇādāna 155), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.14.

Antyaja. This word is applied to all lowest castes like the cāṇḍāla in Manu IV. 61, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 36.7, Yāj. I. 273, Bṛhad-yama (quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III. 260). In Manu VIII. 279 the word is used in the sense of 'śūdra'. Various enumerations of the subdivisions of antyajas are found in the smṛtis. Atri 199 enumerates[170] seven *antyajas* viz. rajaka (washerman), carmakāra (worker in hides), naṭa (dancer caste, represented in the Deccan by *Kolhāṭis*), buruḍa (worker in bamboos), kaivarta (fisherman), meda, bhilla. This verse is quoted as Āpastamba's by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 265, while Aparārka p. 1123 ascribes it to Atri. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 260 distinguishes between two groups of antyajas, viz. the one quoted above which it says is not so low as another group of seven, which are called *antyāvasāyins*,[171] viz. cāṇḍāla, śvapaca (eater of dog flesh), kṣatṛ, sūṭa, vaidehika, māgadha and āyogava. In the Mahābhārata (Śānti 101. 19) reference is made to *antyaja* soldiers and Nīlakaṇṭha explains that they were the kaivartas and bhillas of the border regions. According to the Sarasvati-vilāsa (p. 74) Pitāmaha speaks of the seven castes of rajaka and others as *prakṛtis*.[172] Is it possible that the Prākṛta languages were originally so called because they were spoken by these castes called prakṛtis? In the Sangamner plate of Bhillama II dated *śake* 922 (E. I. vol. II. p. 220) a village is granted with eighteen *prakṛtis* (meaning probably the eighteen guilds of washermen and others). The Vīramitrodaya (vyavahāra p. 12) explains that śreṇis mean the eighteen low castes such as the rajaka. This shows that these low castes had risen in social status in the medieval ages by their organization and

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170. रजकश्चर्मकारश्च नटो बुरुड एव च। कैवर्तमेदभिल्लाश्च सप्तैते चान्त्यजाः स्मृताः॥ अत्रि 199, अङ्गिरस् (Jiv. I. p. 554), यम 33 (Ānand. ed.). Some mss. read म्लेच्छ for मेद; vide note 202 below.

171. चाण्डालः श्वपचः क्षत्ता सूतो वैदेहिकस्तथा। मागधायोगवौ चैव सप्तैतेऽन्त्यावसायिनः॥ मध्यमाङ्गिरस् acc. to मिता० on या. III. 265; quoted by हरदत्त on गौ. 20. 1 and परा. मा. II. part 1 p. 116.

172. शास्त्राणि वर्णधर्मास्तु प्रकृतीनां च भूपतिः। व्यवहारस्वरूपं च ज्ञात्वा कार्यं समाचरेत्॥ प्रकृतयस्तु पितामहेन दर्शिता रजक-चर्मकार-नट बुरुड-कैवर्तक-म्लेच्छभिल्लादयः। सरस्वतीविलास p. 74.

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wealth. The Veda-Vyāsa smṛti (I. 12–13) enumerates twelve castes by name as *antyajas* and adds that all those who eat cow's flesh are also *antyajas.*[173]

Antāvasāyin or *Antyāvasāyin.* Manu IV. 79 separately mentions 'antyas' and 'antyāvasāyins' and Manu X. 39 says that the antyāvasāyin is the offspring of a cāṇḍāla male from a niṣāda female, that he is condemned even by all 'bāhyas' (untouchables) and stays in a cemetery. Gautama 20. 1 and 23. 32 mentions 'antyāvasāyin (and -yinī). Vas. Dh. S. 18. 3 holds that the antyāvasāyin is the offspring of a śūdra from a vaiśya woman. The Bhāradvāja-śrauta sūtra (XI. 22. 12) forbids the study of the Veda in the presence of the antyāvasāyin. The Anuśāsana-parva (22. 22) speaks of Medas, Pulkasas and Antāvasāyins (the printed text is corrrupt). Śānti (141. 29–32) gives a graphic description of a hamlet of cāṇḍālas and calls them 'antyāvasāya' (in verse 41). Nārada (ṛṇādāna 182) says that an antyāvasāyin is not eligible as a witness. Some modern works like the Jātiviveka (D. C. Ms. No. 347 of 1887–91) say that Dom in modern times is the antyāvasāyin of the smṛtis.

Abhiṣikta — See under Mūrdhāvasikta.

Ambaṣṭha — (same as Bhṛjjakaṇṭha).

In Ait. Br. (chap. 39. 7) king Āmbaṣṭhya is said to have performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice. In Pāṇ. VIII. 3. 97 the word Ambaṣṭha is derived and on Pāṇ. IV. 1. 170 Āmbaṣṭhya (king ?) is cited by Pat. as an example derived from Ambaṣṭha (a country). It is a question whether the caste of Ambaṣṭhas derived its name from a country. Karṇaparva (6. 11) mentions a king Ambaṣṭha. In Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 3, Manu X. 8, Yāj. I. 91, Uśanas 31, Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 107) Ambaṣṭha is an *anuloma* sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a vaiśya woman, while according to Gautama 4. 14 as interpreted by Haradatta he is the offspring of a kṣatriya from a vaiśya woman. Manu X. 47 prescribes the profession of medicine for him and Uśanas[174] (31–32) says that he may subsist by agriculture or may be a fire-dancer or he may be a herald (? banner proclaimer)

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173. चर्मकारो भटो भिल्लो रजकः पुष्करो नटः । विराटो मेदचाण्डालौ दाशः श्वपचकोलिकाः ॥ एतेऽन्त्यजाः समाख्याता ये चान्ये च गवाशनाः । एषां संभाषणात्स्नानं दर्शनादर्कवीक्षणम् ॥ वेदव्यास I. 12–13. 'श्रेण्यो रजकाद्यष्टादशहीनजातयः' वीरमित्रोदय (व्यवहार p. 12).

174. कुण्याजीवो भवेत्तस्य तथैवाग्नेयनर्तकः । ध्वजविध्राविका वापि अम्बष्ठाः शस्त्रजीविनः (शल्यजीविनः ?) । उशनस् 31–32.

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and live by surgery. Vaik. 10. 12 has almost the same words; the Sahyādri-khaṇḍa (26. 40–41) says the same. Haradatta on Āp. Dh. S. I. 6. 19. 14 says that ambaṣṭha and śalyakṛnta are synonymous. The Baidyas of Bengal came to be the ambaṣṭhas of Manu (vide Risley's 'People of India' p. 114).

Ayaskāra (blacksmith). In the Vedic literature we have ayastāpa (heater of ayas, probably any metal). Vide under karmakāra and karmāra. Patañjali on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 mentions him as a śūdra along with takṣan (Mahābhāṣya, vol. I. p. 475).

Avarīta. Devala quoted by Aparārka (p. 118 on Yāj. I. 92) says that he is born of the illegitimate connection between a married woman and a male of the same caste and he becomes a śūdra. The Śūdra-kamalākara [175] (p. 247) cites from the Smṛti-kaumudī a verse of the Ādityapurāṇa to the same effect.

Avira. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female.

Āpīta. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of brāhmaṇa from a Dauṣyantī.

Ābhīra. According to Manu X. 15 he is the child of the union of a brāhmaṇa with an ambaṣṭha girl. The Mahābhārata (Mausalaparva 7. 46–63 and 8. 16–17) states that the ābhīras were *dasyus* and *mlecchas* who attacked Arjuna after the great war in the land of the five rivers and carried away Vṛṣṇi women. The Sabhāparva (51. 12) mentions ābhīras with Pāradas and the Āśvamedhika (29. 15–16) says (just as Manu X. 43–44 do) that the Ābhīras, the Draviḍas and others became śūdras by non-contact with brāhmaṇas. The Mahābhāṣya expressly states that the ābhīras are not a subcaste included under the genus śūdra but that they are a caste distinct from śūdras.[176] The Kāmasūtra (V. 5. 30) names an ābhīra king Koṭṭarāja. Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa (I. 36) says that Apabhraṁśa is the appellation of the speech of ābhīras and the like

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175. द्वितीयेन तु यः पित्रा सवर्णायां प्रजायते । अवरीट इति ख्यातः शूद्रधर्मा स जातितः । देवल in अपरार्क p. 118 and in कुल्लूक on मनु X. 5 (अवघाट इति). सवर्णासु सवर्णैस्तु ये जायन्ते परैरपि । अवराटकसंज्ञास्ते व्रतसंस्कारवर्जिताः ॥ शूद्रकमलाकर p. 247.

176. यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्द्वन्द्वो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरं गोबलीवर्दं तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैष दोषः । इह तावच्छूद्राभीरमिति । आभीरा जात्यन्तराणि । महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 251 (on पा. I. 2. 72.).

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in poetry. The Amarakośa says that they are cow-herds and that the ābhīra wife of a Mahāśūdra is called Ābhīrī. The Ābhīras became absorbed in Hindu society and we find that an Ābhīra *senāpati* Rudrabhūti in the year 103 (181-82 A. D.) under king Rudrasiṁha, son of Rudradāman, built a well (E. I. vol. 16 p. 235) and in the Nasik cave No. 15 there is an inscription of king Īśvarasena, a son of Ābhīra Śivadatta and Māḍharī (i. e. the mother was of the Māṭhara gotra). Vide E. I. vol. 8. p. 88. Ābhīras are called *ahirs* in modern times. Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. 21 pp. 430-433, Enthoven's 'Tribes and castes of Bombay' vol. I. p. 17 ff.

Āyogava. Vide *Āyogū* above (p. 43) from Vedic literature. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 4, Manu X. 12, Kauṭ. III. 7, Anuśāsana 48. 13, Yāj. I. 94 this is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female; while Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 7), Uśanas 12, Vaik. X. 14 say that it springs from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. Vas. Dh. S. (18. 3) gives antyāvasāyin as the name of the caste sprung from a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and pulkasa as the name of one sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female. His avocation (Manu X. 48) is to pare wood, while Uśanas (verse 13) says he is a weaver or subsists by making vessels of bronze or by cultivating paddy or by dealing in cloth. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 8 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) he is to make his living by going to the stage. The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa says (26. 68-69) that he works in stones and bricks, makes pavements and whitewashes walls i. e. he is the modern Pātharvaṭa (in the Deccan).

Āvantya. Same as Bhūrjakaṇṭha (Manu X. 21).

Āśvika. According to Vaik. X. 12 he is the child of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and deals in horses.

Āhiṇḍika. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a vaidehī female i. e. he is a double pratiloma caste. Kullūka says that his avocation according to Uśanas is to prevent strangers from trespassing on places where offenders are kept imprisoned. Manu X. 36 shows that the same caste is called Kārāvara when it follows the craft of a carmakāra.

Ugra. For Vedic reference see above (p. 45). According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 5), Manu X. 9, Kauṭ. III. 7, Yāj. I. 92, Anuśāsana 48. 7 he is an anuloma offspring of a kṣatriya male from a śūdra

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woman, while according to Uśanas (verse 41) he is the offspring of the union of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 2. 7. 20) allows a pupil to bring wealth from a śūdra or an ugra when the teacher is in distress or difficulties. Gaut. 4. 14 (as explained by Haradatta) says that ugra is the offspring of a vaiśya from a śūdra female. The Āp. Dh. S. (I. 6. 18. 1) says that a brāhmaṇa may accept the gift of money, corn like paddy, flesh of deer, house, field, hay for oxen from an ugra. Manu X. 49 says that the ugra should subsist by catching and killing animals that hide in holes, while Uśanas (verse 41) states that he is to be the staff-bearer of the king and to carry out the punishments inflicted on offenders. Vide Vaik. 10. 13. According to the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa and Śūdrakamalākara (p. 255) he is called 'Rajpūta'. In the Jātiviveka (the D. C. collection of 1887–1891 No. 347) he is called *Rāvut*.

Udbandhaka. According to Uśanas (verse 15) he is the offspring of the union of a sūnika and a kṣatriya woman, subsists by washing clothes and is an untouchable. Vaik. 10. 15 says he is the offspring of a khanaka and a kṣatriya woman.

Upakruṣṭa. According to Āśv. śr. sūtra (II. 1) he does not belong to the dvijātis, but is authorised to perform the vedic rite of *agnyādheya* and the commentary explains that he is a vaiśya following the profession of a carpenter.

Oḍra. Vide Manu X. 43–44. Oḍra is a country corresponding more or less to modern Orissa. Most of the names of people mentioned in Manu X. 44 are derived from countries. Vide note on Khaśa (p. 79) and see Sabhāparva 51. 23.

Kaṭakāra. According to Uśanas (45) and Vaik. 10. 13 he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a vaiśya and a śūdra female.

Karaṇa. According to Gaut. (IV. 17 the view of some ācāryas) and Yāj. I. 92, he is the child of the marriage of a vaiśya and a śūdra woman (i. e. he is an anuloma). Manu (X. 22) says that a kṣatriya who is a vrātya (i. e. for whom no *upanayana* has been performed) has from a similar woman a child variously called Jhalla, Malla, Niccivi (Licchivi?), Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khaśa, Draviḍa. Ādiparva 115. 43 tells us that Dhṛtarāṣṭra had from a vaiśya female a karaṇa son named Yuyutsu. Kṣīrasvāmī on Amara says that karaṇa also denotes a group of officers like kāyasthas and adhyakṣas (superintendents). The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 49–51) says he is the same as

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cāraṇa or vaitālika and his business is to sing the praises of kings and brāhmaṇas and study the science of erotics.

Karmakāra. Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 14) mentions this caste. It is most probably the same as karmāra. But Śaṅkha (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 115 separately mentions in the same passage karmakāra and karmāra.

Karmāra. For vedic references vide (p. 43) above. This caste appears in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Manu IV. 215 mentions it. In Bengal the Lohar is a scheduled caste (vide Sch. C. O. 1936).

Kāṁsyakāra. (modern kāṁsāra in Marathi) Mentioned by Nārada (ṛṇādāna 274) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. X. 4 in connection with the balance ordeal.

Kākavaca. Mentioned in Uśanas (50) as doing the work of bringing grass for horses.

Kāmboja. Vide Manu X. 43–44. The country of Kamboja was known to Yāska (Nirukta II. 2) and Pāṇini (IV. 1. 175). Udyogaparva 160. 103, Droṇa 121. 13 mention Kambojas with Śakas. Vide under Yavana.

Kāyastha.[177] Heated controversies have raged in mediaeval and modern times about the origin and status of kāyasthas and the bitterness is reflected in the decisions of the Indian courts also. In *Bholanath v. Emperor*[178] the Calcutta High Court held that the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras and went so far as to hold that a kāyastha could marry a Dom female. But in *Asita Mohan v. Nirode Mohan*[179] the Privy Council left open the question whether the kāyasthas of Bengal were śūdras. On the other hand in *Tulsi Ram v. Bihari Lal*[180] and in *Ishwari Prasad v. Rai Hari Prasad*[181] the Allahabad and Patna High Courts respectively held that the kāyasthas were dvijas and not śūdras. In *Subrao v. Radha* 52 Bom. 497 at p. 504–506 this conflict of decisions is referred to.

The word kāyastha does not occur in the ancient dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, or Vasiṣṭha nor

177 Vide for further details my paper on 'the Kāyasthas' in the New Indian Antiquary for 1939 vol. I. pp. 739-743.

178 I. L. R. 51 Cal. 488.

179 L. R. 47 I. A. 140,145.

180 12 All. 328.

181 6 Patna 506.

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in the Manusmṛti. The Viṣṇu Dh. S. VII. 3 defines a public document (rājasākṣika) as one written in the royal court or office by a kāyastha appointed by the king and attested by the hand of the superintendent of the office.[182] These words suggest that the kāyastha was an officer and that there is nothing about a caste here. Yāj. I. 322 calls upon the king to protect the subjects from the harassment of cāṭas (rogues), thieves, bad characters, desperadoes and the like and particularly of kāyasthas. The Mit. explains that *kāyasthas* are accountants and scribes, are favourites of the king and very cunning. Uśanas[183] (35) holds the kāyasthas to be a caste and gives an uncomplimentary derivation of the name by saying that it is compounded of the first letters of *kāka* (crow), Yama and *sthapati* to convey the three attributes of greed, cruelty and the spoliation (or paring), characteristic of the three. The Veda-Vyāsa smṛti[184] (I. 10-11) includes the kāyastha among śūdras along with barbers, potters and others. Sumantu quoted in the Par. M. II part I p. 383 makes the food of a lekhaka along with that of oilmen and others unfit for a brāhmaṇa[185]. Lekhaka is obviously a caste here, but whether it is the kāyastha caste is doubtful. Bṛhaspati as quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (vyavahāra) speaks of the gaṇaka and lekhaka as two persons to be associated with a judge in a court of justice and says they were to be *dvijas*. Vide also Aparārka p. 600. Therefore both these were only officers and not members of a particular caste. In the Mṛcchakaṭika (Act IX) a śreṣṭhin and kāyastha are associated with the judge. So the kāyastha seems to be the same as the lekhaka of Bṛhaspati and as a mere official. In the first centuries of the Christian era the kāyastha was merely an officer and the word was possibly derived from or is a Sanskrit approximation of some foreign word for an officer, though in some parts of the country (as shown by Uśanas and Veda-Vyāsa) the kāyasthas also had come to form a caste in medieval times.

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182. राजाधिकरणे तन्नियुक्तकायस्थकृतं तदध्यक्षकरचिह्नितं राजसाक्षिकम् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र VII. 3.

183. काकाल्लौल्यं यमात् क्रौर्यं स्थपतेरथ कृन्तनम् । आद्यक्षराणि संगृह्य कायस्थ इति निर्दिशेत् ॥ उशनस् ॥ 35.

184. बर्धकी नापितो गोप आशापः कुम्भकारकः । वणिक्-किरात-कायस्थमालाकार-कुटुम्बिनः ॥ एते चान्ये च बहवः शूद्रा भिन्ना स्वकर्मभिः ॥ वेदव्यासस्मृति I. 10-11

185. अभिशस्तपतित पौनर्भव पुंश्चल्यशुचिशस्त्रकारतैलिकचाक्रिकध्वजि सुवर्णकारलेखकलैङ्गिकषण्ढकवन्धकगणकगणिकान्नानि चाभोज्यानि । सुमन्तु in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 383.

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Though numerous officers are mentioned in the inscriptions of the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, the kāyastha hardly ever figures among them. One of the earliest inscriptions where the word *kāyastha* occurs is the Kanaswa Inscription of Śivagaṇa dated in the Mālava era 795 (i. e. 738–39 A. D.). Vide I. A. vol. 19 pp. 56 and 59. See also E. I. vol. X. p. 79 for Kāyastha Kāñcana in Balera plates in 994–95 A. D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 149 for Śāsanika kāyastha in Naraspatam plates of 1045–46 A. D., E. I. vol. XI. p. 20, 25 for kāyastha Surāditya who was 'Sarvaśāstravit' in Govindacandra's plate dated 1129–30 A. D., E. I. 19 pp. 209, 213 Amodā plate dated 1161 A. D. (for Vāstavya kāyastha), E. I. vol. 19 p. 45 Inscription of Hammīra (dated 1288–89 A. D.), E. I. XII. p. 46 (dated 1328–29 A. D. for Māthura kāyastha), E. I. 20 Appendix No. 442 p. 64 (for Gauḍa kāyastha). In the Rājataraṅgiṇī (VIII. 131) kāyasthas and diviras are mentioned separately and in VIII. 2383 it is stated that the brāhmaṇa Śivaratha, who was a roguish kāyastha, was strangulated in the reign of Jayasiṁha. So in the 12th century kāyasthas were only officers in Cashmir and brāhmaṇas held such offices. Vide Rājataraṅgiṇī V. 180–184 for a bitter diatribe against kāyasthas.

The Śūdrakamalākara (pp. 279–280) speaks of three subcastes of kāyasthas.

Kārāvara. According to Manu X. 36 he is a doubly mixed caste sprung from the union of a niṣāda with a vaidehī and his craft is that of a carmakāra. According to later digests like the Śūdrakamalākara he is called 'kahāra' or 'bhoi' and holds torches and carries umbrellas for others.

Kāruṣa. According to Manu X. 23 this caste springs from the union of a vrātya vaiśya and a similar female. This caste is also called Sudhanvācārya, Vijanman, Maitra and Sātvata (according to Manu).

Kirāta. Vide above (p. 44) for vedic references. Veda-Vyāsa speaks of him as a subdivision of śūdra (note 184). According to Manu (X. 43–44) he is a kṣatriya reduced to the status of a śūdra. Anuśāsana (35.17–18) says the same about Mekalas, Draviḍas, Lāṭas, Pauṇḍras, Yavanas and others. Karṇaparva 73. 20 speaks of kirātas as men of fiery valour. Āśvamedhika 73. 25 shows that Arjuna met kirātas, yavanas and Mlecchas when proceeding to the north with the Aśvamedha horse. The Amarakośa says that kirāta, śabara and pulinda are subdivisions of Mleccha castes.

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Kukkuṭa. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 8. 8 he is a pratiloma caste, but I. 9. 15 says that he is the child of the union of a śūdra with a niṣāda woman, while I. 8. 12 states that he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a niṣāda woman.[186] Manu X. 18 agrees with Baud. Dh. I. 9. 15. According to Kauṭ. III. 7 he is the offspring of an ugra male from a niṣāda female. According to Ādityapurāṇa quoted in the Śūdrakamalākara he manufactures swords and other weapons and engages in cockfights for the king.

Kuṇḍa. According to Manu III. 174 he is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a married brāhmaṇa woman whose husband is living and a brāhmaṇa male.

Kukunda. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a māgadha from a śūdra female.

Kumbhakāra. This word occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Uśanas (32–33) says that he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa with a vaiśya female. Vaik. (X. 12) agrees with Uśanas and adds that the offspring becomes either a kumbhakāra or a barber who shaves parts of the body above the navel. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10–11) and Devala (quoted in Par. M. II. 1. p. 431 and Gṛ. R. p. 337) include the potter among śūdras.[187] In the Central Provinces the Kumbhāra is a scheduled caste.

Kulāla. For Vedic references see above (p. 43). Pāṇ IV. 3. 118 explains the formation of kaulālakam (made by a potter). The Āśv. Gṛ. IV. 3. 18 says that all earthen vessels (kaulālam) of a deceased agnihotrin should be kept by his son. Why two names arose for the caste of potters it is difficult to explain.

Kulika. This caste is mentioned in Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175 (where Aparārka explains it as devalaka).

Kuśīlava. According to Baudhāyana as quoted in the Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of an ambaṣṭha from a vaidehaka female. According to Amara he is the same as a cāraṇa (a bard). According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaṣṭha female (i. e. exactly the reverse of Baudhāyana's view) and he gives the name vaiṇa to the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a vaidehaka female.

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186. प्रतिलोमास्त्वायोगवमागधवैणक्षत्रपुल्कसकुक्कुटवैदेहकचण्डालाः । निषादात्तु तृतीयायां पुल्कसः । विपर्यये कुक्कुटः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 8. 8, 11–12 ; शूद्रान्निषाद्यां कुक्कुटः । बौ. ध. सू. I. 9. 15.

187. स्वदासो नापितो गोपः कुम्भकारः कुषीवलः । ब्राह्मणैरपि भोक्तव्याः पञ्चैते शूद्रयोनयः । देवल in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 431.

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Kṛta. According to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a brāhmaṇa woman. Yāj. I. 93 and others call this caste vaidehaka.

Kaivarta. In the Assam valley kaibartta is a scheduled caste. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that this is a mixed caste. Manu X. 34 tells us that the inhabitants of Āryāvarta employ the name kaivarta to denote the offspring of a niṣāda from an āyogava woman, who is also called mārgava and dāsa (dāśa ?) and who subsists by plying boats. Śaṁkara on Vedāntasūtra II. 3. 43 says that dāśa and kaivarta are the same. Fick p. 302 notes that fishermen who work with nets and baskets were called in the Jātakas *kevatta.*

Kolika. Mentioned as one of the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa. Vide note 173 under antyaja. Koli is a scheduled caste in the Central Provinces and Kol in United Provinces.

Kṣatṛ. For vedic references see above. According to Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 12, 13 and 16, Yāj. I. 94, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 112), this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra father and kṣatriya mother. Manu (X. 49–50) prescribes for him the same avocation as for ugra and pulkasa. Vas. Dh. S. 18. 2 calls him vaiṇa. In the Amarakośa kṣatṛ is given three meanings, a charioteer, doorkeeper and the caste described above. In Chāndogya Up. IV. 1. 5, 7, 8 the word seems to mean only door-keeper. Pāṇ. notices the word (VI. 4. 11). The Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 63–66) says that kṣatṛ is also called niṣāda and that he is an expert in catching deer by means of nets, is a forester and kills wild animals, also rings a bell at night to remind people of the hour.

Khanaka. According to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of an āyogava male and kṣatriya female and lives by digging.

Khaśa or khasa. According to Manu X. 22 this is another name for karaṇa; while in X. 43–44 he makes the khaśas a kṣatriya caste originally but reduced to the status of śūdras by the absence of saṁskāras and the absence of contact with brāhmaṇas. Vide Sabhā. 52. 3, Udyoga 160. 103.

Guhaka. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a śvapaca from a brāhmaṇa female.

Goja (or *Goda*). According to Uśanas (28–29) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and female.

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Gopa. Vide note 184. He is the modern Gavḷi and a śūdra subcaste. Yāj. II. 48 says that debts contracted by gopa wives must be paid by their husbands as the latter's profession and earnings depend upon them. The Kāmasūtra (I. 5. 37) mentions a caste called Gopālaka.

Golaka. He is the offspring of a clandestine intercourse between a brāhmaṇa widow and a brāhmaṇa male. Vide Manu III. 174, Laghu-Śātātapa 105, Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva. 12. 12).

Cakrī. According to Uśanas (22–23) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and subsists by (selling) oil and oilcakes or salt. He seems to be the same as tailika. Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279) mentions him. According to Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 he is one who presses sesame. According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a secret love affair between a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female and engages in the sale of salt and oil.

Carmakāra. Vide under antyaja (p. 70) above. He is mentioned in many smṛtis like Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51.8), Āpastamba (in verse 9. 32), Parāśara (VI. 44). According to Uśanas (4), he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya girl, while verse 21 says that those sprung from a vaidehaka and a brāhmaṇa girl subsist by working on hides. Vaik. (X. 15) agrees with this latter. Manu IV. 218 speaks of him as carmāvakartin (cutter of hides). According to several smṛtis he is one of the seven antyajas. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa female. This name persists to this day as cāmbhār (in Western India) or cāmār in all other Indian provinces. This caste is often spoken of as Mochi (shoe-maker). Often the mochis are Moslems. This is an untouchable caste and the population of carmakāras in India is very large. In the Bombay Presidency alone they are about two hundred and ninety thousand (in 1931).

Cākrika. According to Amara he is a person who rings a bell. Kṣīrasvāmī says that he announces the king's arrival by ringing bells and that some regard him as the same as vaitālika. According to Śaṅkha (prose) and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175–76) cākrika and tailika are separate subcastes. According to Vaik. (X. 14) he is the offspring of a love affair between a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and his avocation is the sale of salt, oil and oil cakes.

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Cāṇḍāla (or *cāṇḍāla*). For Vedic references see above pp. 44-45. Acc. to Gaut. IV. 15-16, Vas. Dh. S. 18. 1, Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7, Manu X. 12, Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 11 he is a pratiloma caste sprung of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman. He is the lowest among men (Manu X. 12), beyond the pale of religious observances prescribed for the four varṇas (sarvadharma-bahiṣkṛta, as Yāj. I. 93 says) and often spoken of in the same breath with dogs and crows (e. g. Āp. Dh. S. II. 4. 9. 5, Gaut. 15. 25, Yāj. I. 103).[188] The word occurs in the kulālādi gaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 3. 118). Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 9-10) says that there are three kinds of cāṇḍālas. viz. the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman, the offspring of an unmarried woman, the offspring of a union with a sagotra girl. Yama quoted in Par. M. vol. II. part 1 p. 306 says that one born of a person who after becoming an ascetic turns back to the householder's life, one born of a sagotra woman and one who is the offspring of a śūdra from a brāhmaṇa woman are all cāṇḍālas. Laghu-Śātātapa (59) has a similar verse. Manu (X. 51-56) says that cāṇḍālas and śvapacas should have their houses outside the village, vessels used by them cannot be used by others (even after putting them in fire), their wealth consists of dogs and asses, their clothes should be the garments on corpses, they should take their food in broken vessels, their ornaments were to be made of iron, they should incessantly roam, they are not to enter towns and villages at night, they have to carry the corpses of persons who have no relatives, they are to be hangmen when the king so orders, they may take the clothes, ornaments and beds of persons that are to be hanged. Uśanas (9-10) says that their ornaments are to be of lead or iron, they should have a leather thong round their necks or a cymbal under their armpits, they should remove the dirt of the village in the first part of the day. According to Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16.11 and 14 their avocation is to be hangmen or to kill those offenders who are condemned to death and cāṇḍālas have to stay outside the village and to wear the clothes on corpses. Śānti 141. 29-32 gives a graphic description of their hamlet. The classical description of a cāṇḍāla hamlet is in the Kādambarī of Bāṇa. In Anuśāsana (29.17) Mataṅga is called a cāṇḍāla because he was born of a brāhmaṇa woman from a barber.

Fa Hien (405-411 A. D.) describes how cāṇḍālas had to live apart and give notice of their approach when entering a

188. व्यङ्गैः पतितचण्डालग्राम्यसूकरकुक्कुटैः । श्वा च नित्यं विवर्ज्याः स्युः पङ्क्तेर्धर्मतः समाः ॥ देवल quoted in परा. मा. vol. II. part 1. p. 366.

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town or market place by striking a piece of wood to make themselves known so that a man may avoid them and not come in contact with them (vide 'Record of Buddhist kingdoms' tr. by Legge, p. 43). In modern times cāṇḍālas are returned as a scheduled caste in Madras and Orissa.

Cīna. According to Manu X. 43–44 the Cīnas were a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdras. They are frequently named in the Mahābhārata e. g. Sabhā 51. 23, Vanaparva 177. 12, Udyoga 19. 15.

Cuñcu. According to Manu X. 48 the avocation of Meda, Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill forest (or wild) animals. Kullūka says that he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaidehaka woman.

Cūculka. According to Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaiśya with a śūdra woman and his avocation is the sale and purchase of betelnut, betelnut leaves and sugar.

Cailanirṇejaka (or only nirṇejaka)–washerman. This occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 15 and Manu IV. 216. It appears that Viṣṇu who separately mentions 'rajaka' (in 51. 13) distinguishes between the two. Hārīta (quoted in Aparārka p. 279) also distinguishes between 'rajaka' (one who dyes clothes) from 'nirṇejaka' (one who washes clothes). Very often 'rajaka' means only 'a washerman' (as Amara says).

Jālopajīvin—(subsisting by catching animals in a net) probably the same as a kaivarta. He is mentioned in Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279.

Jhalla. Manu X. 22 says that it is another name for Karaṇa and Khasa. In Bengal Jhalo Malo or Malo is returned as a scheduled caste.

Ḍomba (or Doma) is the same as *śvapaca* according to Kṣīrasvāmī on Amara. Parāśara quoted by Aparārka (p. 1197) puts śvapāka, ḍomba and cāṇḍāla on the same level. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī (V. 354, VI. 182, VI. 192) *ḍombas* are spoken of as untouchables on the same level with cāṇḍālas and as following the profession of singers. In Rājataraṅgiṇī V. 389–394 ḍombas are spoken of as śvapacas. This caste is returned as a scheduled caste in Madras as Ḍombo, as Ḍom in Bengal, Bihar and U. P.

Takṣan or *Takṣaka* (carpenter). For vedic references see above (p. 43). He is the same as vardhaki quoted above, under kāyastha. He is mentioned by Manu IV. 210, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 8. According to the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10

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the takṣan is a śūdra and on the same level with an ayaskāra (ironsmith) and excluded from sacrificial rites. Even so early as the Śat. Br. the takṣan was an unholy person (amedhya) and his touch made *yajñapātras* impure (I. 1. 3. 12). Uśanas 43 says that takṣaka is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa female from a sūcaka (i. e. he is a pratiloma). He must be supposed to be originally different from the rathakāra (vide Tai. S. quoted above p. 43) who was allowed the vedic rite of *ādhāna* or probably in the time of the smṛtis the carpenter lost his former status. According to Vaik. (X. 14)[189] the offspring of a brāhmaṇa girl from a cūcuka (sūcaka?) is a takṣaka who is untouchable or a goldsmith or blacksmith or worker in bell-metal. Bṛhaspati names the takṣaka as one whose food a brāhmaṇa could not eat.

Tantuvāya (a weaver), also called kuvinda. He is mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 13) and Śaṅkha quoted by Aparārka p. 1175. He is regarded as a śūdra by the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 and as excluded from sacrificial rites.

Tāmbūlika—seems to have been a caste. Vide Kāmasūtra I. 5. 37. Bāṇa refers to his house as stored with spices and betel.

Tāmropajīvin (coppersmith). According to Uśanas (14) he is the offspring of an āyogava from a brāhmaṇa woman. Vaik. (X. 15) says the same and calls him tāmra. The Jātiviveka (D. C. No. 347 of 1887–91) gives the name as tāmra-kuṭṭaka.

Tunnavāya (a tailor). He occurs in Manu IV. 214. According to the Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1178 he is the same as sūci (or saucika).

Tailika (oilman)–occurs in Viṣṇu Dh. S. (51. 15), Śaṅkha and Sumantu quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1175 and 1176).

Darada. Manu X. 44 names him. Vide note on khasa above p. 79. Vide Mahābhārata, Udyogaparva 4. 15.

Dāśa (a fisherman). This occurs in an Upaniṣad passage according to Vedānta-sūtra II. 3. 43. Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12–13) includes him among antyajas (vide footnote 173). Manu X. 34 says that mārgava, dāsa (dāśa?) and kaivarta are the same and that he subsists by plying boats, Pāṇ. (III. 4. 73) derives the word. Vide under kaivarta.

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189. चूचुकाद्विप्रायां तक्षकोऽस्पृश्यो झल्लरीहस्तो दारुकारः सुवर्णकारोऽयस्कारः कांस्यकारी वा। वैखा. X. 14; नटनर्तकतक्षाणश्चर्मकारः सुवर्णकृत्। स्थाणुपाषण्डगणिका अभोज्यान्नाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥ बृहस्पति in परा. मा. II. 1. p. 380.

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Divākīrtya—occurs in Mānavagṛhya II. 14. 11. According to Amara both cāṇḍāla and nāpita are called divākīrti.

Dauṣmanta. According to Gaut. 4. 14 this is an anuloma caste sprung from the union of a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā the name is Dauṣyanta.

Draviḍa. The same as karaṇa, according to Manu X. 22. According to Manu X. 43–44, this is a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of a śūdra. Vide under khaśa, and Mahābhārata, Udyoga 160. 103, Droṇa 93. 43.

Dhigvaṇa. According to Manu X. 15 he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from an āyogava female and according to Manu X. 49 he subsists by working on (and sale of) hides. Kullūka on Manu X. 49 quotes a text of Uśanas that Dhigvaṇas subsist by working on hides and selling them and distinguishes them from kārāvaras. This passage is not found in the printed text of Uśanas. In the Jātiviveka he is styled *Mocīkāra.*

Dhīvara. Same as kaivarta and dāśa. Gaut. (IV. 17) indicates that this is a pratiloma caste sprung from a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female (according to the view of some teachers). In the Tai. Br. III. 4. 12 Dhaivara, Dāśa and Kaivarta are separately mentioned, but how they were distinguished it is difficult to say. All caught fish in different ways. Dhimar is a scheduled caste in the Bhandara District of C. P.

Dhvajī (seller of wines)—mentioned by Sumantu and Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Aparārka (p. 1177) says he is the same as śauṇḍika.

Naṭa. He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). Naṭa is a scheduled caste in Bengal, Bihar, U. P. and Punjab. Hārīta quoted by Aparārka (p. 279) distinguishes between naṭa and śailūṣa and Aparārka remarks that naṭa is a specific caste, while śailūṣa is one who though not a naṭa by caste makes a living by going on the stage. Manu X. 22 says that he is the same as karaṇa, khasa (vide note on khasa p. 79). Pāṇini knew of a Naṭasūtra composed by Śilālin and another by Kṛśāśva (IV. 3. 110 and 111), but whether the naṭas he meant were so by caste or whether he meant only actors in general is not clear. Vide under raṅgāvatārin for a quotation from Maitrī Up. Probably this caste is the same as the Kolhāṭis or Bahurūpīs of modern times (in the Deccan) who are dancers, acrobats and jugglers by profession. Fick's work p. 299 speaks

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of naṭakakulas mentioned in Buddhist *Jātakas* and at p. 294 he shows that in the Suruci Jātaka the naṭa is described as throwing up a ball of rope and climbing it and performing other tricks of jugglery.

Nartaka. According to Uśanas (19) he is the offspring of a rañjaka from a vaiśya woman and his profession is that of a singer. Bṛhaspati quoted in Par. M. (II. part I p. 380) separately mentions in the same verse naṭa and nartaka (both being abhojyānna to a brāhmaṇa). Atri VII. 2 also mentions the two separately. See note 189.

Nāpita (barber). The Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya I. 25 refers to him (in cūḍākarma). Uśanas (32–34) and Vaik. (X. 12) say that he is the offspring of a clandestine affair between a brāhmaṇa male and a vaiśya female and Uśanas derives the word by saying that he shaves the body above the navel of a person.[190] Vaik. (X. 15) says that the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a kṣatriya female is a nāpita, but he shaves the hair on the body below the navel. Parāśara (XI. 21)[191] says that the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra girl is called dāsa if saṁskāras are performed on him, but if they are not performed he becomes a nāpita. Pān. (VI. 2. 62) specially provides for the accentuation of words meaning artisan (*śilpin*, like nāpita or kulāla) when compounded with the word *grāma*. The Sūtasaṁhitā (Śiva—chap. XII. 15) says that the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa male and a vaiśya female is called kumbhakāra or ūrdhva-nāpita, while verse 32 says that the offspring of a kṣatriya female from a niṣāda is called 'adho-nāpita'.

Nicchivi. Manu X. 22 says that this is another name for karaṇa or khaśa. Probably this is a misreading for Licchavi or Licchivi. Kauṭ. (Arthaśāstra XI. 1) speaks of the oligarchies or corporations of Licchivika, Vṛjika, Mallaka[192] etc. Vaiśāli was the seat of this oligarchy in the 6th century B. C. (Rapson's 'Ancient India' p. 169). Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 32 p. 233 for their Tibetan affinities and I. A. vol. 9 p. 178 and vol. 14 p. 98 for inscriptions of this tribe and 'Indian Historical

190. नाभेरूर्ध्वं तु वपनं तस्मान्नापित उच्यते। उशनस् 34.

191. शूद्रकन्यासमुत्पन्नो ब्राह्मणेन तु संस्कृतः। संस्कृतस्तु भवेद्दासो ह्यसंस्कारैस्तु नापितः॥ पराशर XI. 21.

192. लिच्छिविक-वृजिक-मल्लक-मद्रक-कुकुर-कुरुपञ्चालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः अर्थशास्त्र XI. 1.

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Quarterly,' 1933, vol. 18 p. 439 ff. Fa Hien (in 'Records of Buddhist Kingdoms' translated by Legge, 1886, p. 71) says that the Licchavis of Vaiśāli were attached to Buddha and also speaks of Ānanda (pupil of Buddha) and the Licchavis.

Niāṣda. For vedic references see above (pp. 43 and 46). The Nirukta[193] III. 8 while explaining the words 'pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam' in Ṛg. X. 53. 4 remarks that according to Aupamanyava the 'five people' are the four varṇas with niṣāda as the fifth. This shows that Aupamanyava regarded them as distinct from the four varṇas (including the śūdras). The Nirukta further says that according to the Nairuktas the niṣāda is so called because 'sin (or evil) sits down in him'; from this it follows that in the times of Yāska the niṣādas had come to be looked down upon with scorn as evil people and were probably some aborigines like the modern *Bhils*. According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9.3 and II. 2.33), Vas. 18.8, Manu X. 8, Anuśāsana 48.5, Yāj. I. 91 the Niṣāda is an anuloma caste, offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman. Baud. Dh. S. (II. 2.34), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu (X. 8) and Yāj. (I. 91) say that pāraśava is another name for niṣāda. Manu (IX. 178) derives pāraśava from the root *pāray* (to go across) and the word śava (a corpse) meaning 'though living he is like one dead'. In a corrupt passage of Vas. Dh. S.[194] (18. 9-10) the same derivation is accepted. Gaut. (IV. 14) distinguishes between niṣāda and pāraśava, the former (acc. to the com. Haradatta) being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a vaiśya woman and the latter being the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. According to Nārada (strīpuṁsa v. 108) and Anuśāsana 48.12, niṣāda is the offspring of a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female and he subsists by fishing (according to the latter). Nārada (strīpuṁsa 108) says that pāraśava is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male and a śūdra female. Uśanas (36-38) says that the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a śūdra woman is called pāraśava and gains his livelihood as the worshipper of the goddess Bhadrakālī or by learning Śaiva āgamas or by playing on musical instruments, while niṣāda is the illegitimate offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman who subsists by killing wild beasts (such as elephants) and by

193. निषादः कस्मान्निषदनो भवति निषण्णमस्मिन् पापकमिति नैरुक्ताः। निरुक्त III. 8.

194. शूद्राणां (शूद्रायां?) पारशवः। पारशवो नेव (पारयन्नेव?) जीवन्नेव शवो भवतीत्याहुः। वसिष्ठ 18. 9-10, where जीवन्नेव is a paraphrase of the rather obscure words पारयन्नेव in Manu IX. 178.

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selling flesh. The Vaik.[195] (X. 13) has practically the same remarks to make about pāraśava and niṣāda. Śāntiparva (59. 96–97) speaks of niṣādas as men with reddish eyes and with black hair. In the Rāmāyaṇa Guha, the king of niṣādas, helps Rāma to cross the river Ganges (Ayodhyā 50. 33). Here he is spoken of as belonging to the caste of niṣādas (niśādajātyaḥ). We have historical evidence for the name pāraśava in the Harṣacarita (I, towards end), where Bāṇa[196] tells us that he had with him two pāraśava brothers Candrasena and Mātṛṣeṇa in his travels. In the Tipperah copperplate of a chieftain called Lokanātha (about 650 A. D.) we are told that the king's maternal grandfather Keśava was a pāraśava (vide E. I. vol. 15 at p. 307). The Mit. on Yāj. I. 91 cautions that this niṣāda (the anuloma offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a śūdra woman) is different from another caste called niṣāda, which is a pratiloma one and lives by catching fish. Medhātithi on Manu X. 8 does the same. Niṣāda occurs in the gaṇa kulālādi (Pan. IV. 3. 118). The Vāyupurāṇa (vol. II. chap. 1. 120–121) narrates that the niṣādas, dark and dwarfish, were produced from the left hand of king Vena and they dwelt on the Vindhya. In the Bhāgavata-purāṇa we have the same story[197] (IV. 14. 42 ff.) and we are told that niṣādas were dark like crows, of short stature, snubnosed, with red eyes and hair and that they dwelt in mountains and forests.

Pahlava.—occurs in Manu (X. 43-44) as a kṣatriya caste reduced to the status of śūdra. Vide note on khaśa. The Mahābhārata several times mentions the Pahlavas, Pāradas and other non-Aryan people (vide Sabhā 32. 16–17, Udyoga 4. 15, Bhīṣma 20. 13).

Pāṇḍusopāka. According to Manu X. 37 he is the offspring of a cāṇḍala male from a vaidehaka woman, who maintains himself by dealing in bamboos. He is the same as buruḍa.

Pārada. Vide Manu X. 43–44 and note on khaśa above. Pāradas are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, generally

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195. विप्राच्छूद्रायां पारशवो भद्रकालीपूजन-चित्रकर्माङ्गविद्या (°र्मागमविद्या?) तूर्यघोषणमर्दन (मर्दल?) वृत्तिर्जारोत्पन्नो निषादो व्याडादिमृगहिंसाकारी। वैखा°

196. अभवंश्चास्य वयसा समानाः सुहृदः सहायाश्च। तथा च भ्रातरौ पारशवौ, चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ। हर्षचरित, उच्छ्वास I (at end).

197. काककृष्णोऽतिह्रस्वाङ्गो ह्रस्ववाहुर्महाहनुः। ह्रस्वपान्निम्ननासाग्रो रक्ताक्षस्ताम्रमूर्धजः। निषीदेत्यब्रुवंस्तात स निषादस्ततोऽभवत्। तस्य वंशास्तु नैषादा, गिरिकानन-गोचराः॥ भागवत IV. 14. 44–46.

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as Mlecchas and non-Aryan tribes (vide Sabhā 32, 16, 51. 12, 52. 3; Droṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13). Vide under Yavana.

Pāraśava. Vide niṣāda above. In the Ādiparva 109. 25 Vidura is called pāraśava and he is said (in Ādi. 114.12) to have married the pāraśavī daughter of king Devaka. The Sahyādri-khaṇḍa (26. 43) says that he is called śūdra and is superior to a śūdra (in status) and that he was to live by the avocations prescribed for śūdras.

Piṅgala. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from an āyogava female.

Puṇḍra or *Pauṇḍraka.* Frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata among non-Aryan tribes e. g. Droṇa 93. 44, Āśvamedhika 29. 15–16. Medhātithi on Manu X. 44 remarks that the Pauṇḍrakas are spoken of as kṣatriyas in the Mahābhārata, so a man may be misled into thinking that even in the days of Medhātithi they were still kṣatriyas (but they were not so).

Pulinda. For vedic references see above (p. 47). They were a wild mountain tribe like the Kirātas or Śabaras. In the Vanaparva 140. 25 Pulindas, Kirātas and Taṅgaṇas are spoken of as dwelling on the Himālaya. Udyoga 160. 103, Karṇa 73. 19–20, Anuśāsana 33. 21–22 mention pulindas. Uśanas (16) says that he is the illegitimate offspring of a vaiśya male from a kṣatriya female and he lives by rearing cattle and by killing wild beasts. Vaik. (X. 14) says the same and adds that he subsists on the produce of the forest and by killing wild animals. The Sūtasaṁhitā is of the same opinion as Vaik.

Pulkasa (or paulkasa). The word is also written as pukkasa. Śaṁkarācārya on Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. IV. 3. 22 says that pulkasa and paulkasa are the same. According to Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 14) and Manu X. 18 he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from a śūdra female. According to Kauṭ. (III. 7) he is the offspring of a niṣāda male from an ugra female, while Vaik. X. 14, Uśanas (17) and the Sūtasaṁhitā say that he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a kṣatriya woman and that he makes his livelihood by manufacturing and selling[198] liquors or natural intoxicating sap. The same is the view of some teachers according to Gautama IV. 17. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18. 5) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. (16. 5) he is the offspring of a vaiśya

198. शूद्रात्क्षत्रियायां पुल्कसः कृतकां वार्क्षीं वा सुरां हृत्वा पाचको विक्रीणीते। वैखानस X. 14.

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male from a kṣatriya female and the latter adds that he subsists by hunting. The Agnipurāṇa (151. 15) says that pukkasas are hunters. Yama[199] and Hārīta quoted in the Kṛtya-kalpataru make him out as the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. Manu X. 49 prescribes catching and killing animals that live in holes as the occupation of kṣatṛ, ugra and pukkasa. Kṣīrasvāmī (com. of Amara) says that pukkasa is the same as mṛtapa (which see below). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 1. 2. 6) says that when a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya is guilty of the theft of gold, of the murder of a brāhmaṇa, they undergo for some time in hell torments and then are respectively born as Cāṇḍāla, Paulkasa or Vaiṇa.

Puṣkara. Mentioned in Veda-Vyāsa-smṛti (I. 12) as one of the antyajas. Vide note 173 above.

Puṣpadha. Manu (X. 21) says that this is another name of āvantya (p. 73.)

Pauṇḍraka (or Pauṇḍra). Vide Puṇḍra above. Anuśāsana 35. 17 and Śānti 65. 13–14 have the form pauṇḍra. Vide Manu X. 44 for pauṇḍraka and note on khaśa.

Paulkasa. Vide pulkasa above.

Bandin. See under vandin below.

Barbara. Medhātithi on Manu X. 4 says that the barbaras are saṁkīrṇayonis. In the Mahābhārata they are frequently mentioned among non-Aryan tribes along with Śaka, Śabara, Yavana, Pahlava etc. Vide Sabhā, 32. 16–17, 51. 23; Vana 254, 18 (as staying in the west); Droṇa 121. 13; Anuśāsana 35. 17; Śānti 65. 13.

Bāhya. Vide under antya (p. 70).

Buruḍa (worker in bamboo). He is one of the seven antyajas (vide note 170 above). The word is also written as varuḍa (vide below). Varuḍa occurs in the Kulālādigaṇa (Pāṇini IV. 3. 118). Buruḍa is a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Bhaṭa. He is one of the antyajas according to Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12). Vide note 173 above and on raṅgāvatārin below.

Bhilla. He is one of the antyajas according to Aṅgiras, Atri 199, Yama 33. Vide note 170 above.

Bhiṣak. According to Uśanas (26) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a kṣatriya girl

199. वैश्यायामेव शूद्रेण पुक्कसो नाम जायते । यम in कृत्यकल्पतरु (ms).

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and he maintains himself by studying the Āyurveda in its eight parts, or astronomy, astrology and mathematics (verse 27). According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1171) he lives by surgery and by attending upon patients.

Bhūpa. According to Yama quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru he is the offspring of a vaiśya from a kṣatriya female.

Bhūrjakaṇṭaka. According to Manu X. 21 he is the offspring of a vrātya brāhmaṇa from a similar woman. In several countries he is called āvantya or vāṭadhāna, puṣpadha or śaikha.

Bhṛjjakaṇṭha (same as ambaṣṭha). According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17, he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa male from a vaiśya female.

Bhoja. According to the Sūta-saṁhitā he is the offspring of a kṣatriya woman and a vaiśya male.

Madgu. Mentioned in Manu X. 48 as subsisting by killing wild beasts. Kullūka on that verse explains that according to Baudhāyana he is the offspring of a brāhmaṇa from a bandin female. Vaik. X. 12 says that he is the offspring of the marriage of a kṣatriya male with a vaiśya female and subsists as a merchant (śreṣṭhin) and does not take to the profession of a warrior.

Maṇikāra. According to Uśanas (39–40) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a vaiśya female and he gains his livelihood by working on beads, by perforating pearls and dealing in coral and conches. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the clandestine offspring of a vaiśya male from a vaiśya female.

Matsyabandhaka (a fisherman). According to Uśanas (44) he is the offspring of a takṣaka (carpenter) from a kṣatriya woman.

Malla. Vide Manu (X. 22) who says that it is another name of Jhalla etc.

Māgadha. According to Gaut. IV. 15, Anuśāsana 48. 12, Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 17 and Yāj. I. 93 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a kṣatriya female; while according to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 16, Uśanas (7) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female; but Baud. Dh. S. I. 9. 7 says he is the offspring of a śūdra male and a vaiśya female and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 5 makes him the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya female. Manu (X. 47) prescribes trade by land routes for

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Māgadhas; Anuśāsana X. 48 says that they maintain themselves on speech (i. e. by praise) and are also called bandin. Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 60-62) also calls him *bandin* and says he is slightly superior to śūdra and that he is clever in ornate prose, in six languages, in kalās and he is a devotee of Kālikā. Vaik. (X. 13) states that even śūdras cannot take food cooked by him, that he is an untouchable and maintains himself by praise, by singing or by being a messenger. Uśanas (7-8) says that he becomes the bandin of brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, he maintains himself by lauding (the deeds of others) or as a messenger or servant of a vaiśya. Pāṇini IV. 1. 70 derives the word Māgadha from the country Magadha, but apparently not in the sense of a caste.

Māṇavika. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a śūdra male and a śūdra female.

Mataṅga. The same as cāṇḍāla. The Kādambarī of Bāṇa (para 9) and Amara employ them as synonymous. Yama (12) uses the word Mātaṅga where we ordinarily find cāṇḍāla in other smṛtis. In the Bombay Presidency there is an untouchable caste called *Māṅg* which numbers about three hundred thousand. There are Mangs as a scheduled caste in Orissa.

Mārgava. Same as kaivarta (fisherman). Vide Manu X. 34.

Mālākāra or *Mālika. Vide* Veda-Vyāsa (I. 10-11) quoted above in note 184.

Māhiṣya. According to the view of some teachers mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 92 he is an anuloma caste sprung from the marriage of a kṣatriya with a vaiśya woman. According to the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (26. 45-46) he is entitled to upanayana and his avocations are astrology, augury, prognostications due to *svara.* According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the same as ambaṣṭha.

Mūrdhāvasikta. This is an anuloma caste according to the view of some teachers in Gaut. IV. 17 and Yāj. I. 91 sprung from the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman. According to Vaik. (X. 12) the offspring of the marriage of a brāhmaṇa with a kṣatriya woman is the foremost among anulomas and is called savarṇa, while the offspring of the clandestine union of these two is called abhiṣikta. If crowned he becomes a king, otherwise he subsists by studying Āyurveda (Medicine) or the science of ghosts or astronomy, astrology and mathematics. In the Sahyādrikhaṇḍa (chap. 26. 36-39) more details are added.

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Mṛtapa. Vide pulkasa above. In the Mahābhāṣya[200] on Pāṇ. II. 4. 10 this caste is mentioned as separate from caṇḍāla, but both are included by the Mahābhāṣya under śūdras that are *niravasita* (i. e. those who are so low in the caste system that if a vessel is used by them for eating their food from it cannot be used by any one of the other castes even after the vessel is purified by fire &c.).

Meda. He is one of the seven *antyajas* (vide note 170). This is mentioned in Nārada (vākpāruṣya, verse 11). Anuśāsana 22. 22 speaks of medas, pulkasas and antāvesāyins, and the com. Nīlakaṇṭha[201] explains that Medas are those who eat the flesh of dead cattle. Manu X. 36 says that he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and a niṣāda woman, that he dwells outside the village and Manu X. 48 says that his business along with that of Andhra, Cuñcu and Madgu is to kill wild beasts. Vide under Andhra above and see E. I. vol. XX. p. 130 where meda and cāṇḍāla are named as lowest castes in a grant of Paramardideva in saṁvat 1236. According to Śūdrakamalākara, andhras and medas have to sweep dirty places, doorsteps and privies.

Maitra. Manu X. 23 says he is the same as Kāruṣa.

Maitreyaka. According to Manu X. 23 he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male and āyogava female and his means of livelihood are belauding kings and nobles continually and ringing a bell in the early morning. The Jātiviveka says that he is called Ḍhokanakāra.

Mleccha. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of the clandestine union of a brāhmaṇa woman and a vaiśya male.

Yavana. According to the view of some mentioned in Gaut. IV. 17 he is a pratiloma caste sprung from a śūdra male and a kṣatriya woman. According to Manu X. 43–44 Yavanas were originally kṣatriyas reduced to the status of śūdras (vide under khasa above p. 79). In the Mahābhārata Yavanas are almost

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200. अनिरवसितानामित्युच्यते कुतोऽनिरवसितानाम्। आर्यावर्तादनिरवसितानाम्। कः पुनरार्यावर्तः। ..... यद्येवं किष्किन्धगन्दिकं शकयवनं शौर्यक्रौञ्चमिति न सिध्यति। एवं तर्हि आर्यनिवासादनिरवसितानाम्। कः पुनरार्यनिवासः। ग्रामो घोषो नगरं संवाह इति।..... तत्र चण्डालमृतपा इति न सिध्यति। एवं तर्हि पात्रादनिरवसितानाम्। यैर्भुक्ते पात्रं संस्कारेण शुध्यति तेऽनिरवसिताः। यैर्भुक्ते पात्रं संस्कारेणापि न शुध्यति ते निरवसिताः। महाभाष्य on पा. II. 4. 10 (vol. I. p. 475).

201. मेदानां पुल्कसानां च तथैवान्तेवसायिनम् (० वान्तावसायिनाम् ?) । अनुशासन 22. 22 ; मृतानां गोमहिष्यादीनां मांसमश्नन्तः मेदाः। नीलकण्ठ.

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always associated with Śakas and several other non-Aryan tribes; vide Sabhā. 32. 16-17, Vanaparva 254. 18 (as inhabiting the west), Udyoga 19. 21, Bhīṣma 20. 13, Droṇa 93. 42 and 121. 13, Karṇa 73. 19, Śānti 65. 13. From Strīparva 22. 11 it appears that Jayadratha (king of the countries of Sindhu and Sauvīra) had Kāmboja and Yavana women in his harem. Pāṇini (IV. 1. 59) derives the word Yavanānī from Yavana and a vārtika on that sūtra adds that Yavanānī means the *lipi* (the written alphabet) of the Yavanas. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya (on Pān. II. 4. 10) indicates that he was prepared to regard Yavanas and Śakas as śūdras but as outside Āryāvarta. Aśoka in Rock Edicts V and XIII refers to the Yonas and Kambojas as nations on the borders of his empire. The Viṣṇupurāṇa IV. 3. 21 describes that the Yavanas shaved the head and also the beard, the Śakas tonsured their heads only, the Pāradas allowed the hair on the head to grow long and the Pahlavas grew beards and that all became Mlecchas because they gave up their original dharmas and because brāhmaṇas also left them.

Raṅgāvatārin (or-*tāraka*). According to Manu IV. 215 he is distinct from śailūṣa and gāyana. Śaṅkha (quoted by Aparārka p. 1175), Śaṅkha (17. 36) and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14 mention him. According to Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) he is a naṭa who goes on the stage for livelihood and who introduces various changes in his appearance and dress. Raṅgāvatārin is mentioned in the Maitrī Up. along with naṭa and bhaṭa.[202]

Rajaka (washerman). Dhobī is a scheduled caste in U. P., Bihar and C. P. and in Bengal (called Dhoba). He is one of the *antyajas* according to several writers (vide note 170 above). According to Vaikh. (X. 15) and the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a pulkasa (or vaideha) from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Uśanas (18) he is the offspring of a pulkasa male from a vaiśya girl. The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. (II. 4. 10) includes him under śūdra. Yāj. II. 48 mentions him as liable to pay his wife's debts, because his livelihood depends on her. The Śūdrakamalākara mentioned another caste of rajaka (which is the offspring of an ugra male and vaidehaka female).

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202. ये चान्ये ह चाटजटनटभटप्रव्रजितरङ्गावतारिणो राजकर्मणि पतितादृयः ..... तैः सह न संवसेत्। मैत्री उप. VII. 8.

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Rañjaka (dyer). Manu IV. 216 mentions him. According to Uśanas (19) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a śūdra male and a kṣatriya female.

Rathakāra. Vide above pp. 43, 45 for Vedic references. According to Baud. gṛ. II. 5. 6 and Bhāradvāja gṛ. (I) his *upanayana* was to be performed in the rainy season. It appears he lost his status gradually. In the Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 6) he is the offspring of the marriage of a vaiśya male with a śūdra female. According to Yāj. I. 95 he is an anuloma doubly mixed as he is the offspring of a māhiṣya male from a karaṇa female and according to a prose passage of Śaṅkha quoted by the Mit. the rathakāra is entitled to have *upanavana* performed, to offer sacrifices and gifts and makes his living by learning the art of taming horses, of making chariots and building houses. According to Uśanas (5-6) and Vaik. (X. 13) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a brāhmaṇa woman and he is to behave like a śūdra, he is not a twice-born (dvija) and cannot repeat Vedic mantras and makes his living by tending and driving horses and carts.

Rāmaka. According to Vas. Dh. S. 18. 4 he is a *pratiloma* sprung from the union of a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female. This would be kṛta, according to Gaut. (IV. 15), vaidehaka according to Baudhāyana.

Lubdhaka (hunter of deer)—same as vyādha.

Lekhaka. Mentioned by Sumantu quoted in Par. M. II. part 1 p. 383. He is probably the same as kāyastha, if a caste is meant; vide under kāyastha pp. 75-76.

Lohakāra (ironsmith). Vide p. 75 under karmāra. Nārada[203] (ṛṇādāna 288) recommends utilising the services of an ironsmith who is so by caste in the fire ordeal. He is mentioned by Hārīta (prose) quoted by Aparārka p. 1176. The Kamauli plate of Jayacandradeva Gāhaḍavāla was engraved by 'Lohāra Someka' in saṁvat 1232 (E. I. IV. p. 127).

Vandin (a bard, written as *bandin* also). According to Hārīta quoted in Kṛtyakalpataru he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiśya male and kṣatriya female. According to the Brahma-purāṇa quoted by Aparārka p. 1177 a vandin is one who sings the praises of men.

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203. जात्यैव लोहकारो यः कुशलश्चाग्निकर्मणि। नारद (ऋणादान 288).

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Varāṭa. Enumerated among the antyajas by Veda-Vyāsa (I. 12–13).

Varuḍa (worker in bamboo)—also written as buruḍa (vide above p. 89). The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. IV. 1. 97 (vol. II p. 253) gives the instance *vāruḍaki* (from varuḍa). Bidalakāra (splitter of bamboo) occurs in Tai. S. III. 4. 5. 1. and bidalakārī in Vāj. S. 30. 8.

Vāṭadhāna. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as āvantya.

Vijanman. According to Manu X.23 he is the same as kāruṣa.

Veṇa (or *Vaiṇa*). According to Manu X. 19 and Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 13) he is the offspring of a vaidehaka male from an ambaṣṭha female, while Kauṭ. (III. 7) makes the vaiṇa the offspring of an ambaṣṭha male from a vaidehaka female; and according to Manu X. 49 he makes his livelihood by beating musical instruments. Kullūka on Manu IV. 215 says that Veṇa is one who maintains himself by splitting bamboos and that he is the same as buruḍa according to Viśvarūpa. For Vaiṇa see Āp. Dh. S. quoted under pulkasa (p. 89). Kauṭ. (III. 7) adds that a vaiṇya follows the same profession as a rathakāra. Śaṅkha (17. 38), Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 14, Yāj. III. 207 place the veṇa alongside of carmakāra, niṣāda and pulkasa. According to Vas. Dh. S. (18. 2) he is a pratiloma sprung from the union of a śūdra male and a kṣatriya female. Yāj. I. 161 has the form vaiṇa which the Mit. explains as meaning one who maintains himself by cutting and splitting bamboos. The Śūdrakamalākara notes that according to Ādipurāṇa veṇa is a drum-beater to announce royal orders and edicts.

Veṇuka. According to Uśanas (4) he is a pratiloma, the offspring of a sūta from a brāhmaṇa woman, while according to Vaik. (X. 15) he is the offspring of a madgu from a brāhmaṇa woman and his avocation is to play on a vīṇā and on flutes. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a barber from a brāhmaṇa woman.

Velava. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya woman by stealth.

Vaidehaka. According to Baud. Dh. (I. 9. 8), Kauṭ. (III. 7), Manu X. 11, 13, 17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 6, Nārada (strīpuṁsa 111), Yāj. I. 93, Anuśāsana 48. 10 he is a pratiloma sprung from a vaiśya male and a brāhmaṇa female; while according to Gaut. IV. 15 he is the offspring of a śūdra from a kṣatriya woman and according to Vaik. (X. 14), the view of some ācāryas

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in Gaut. IV. 17 and Uśanas (20) he is the offspring of a śūdra male from a vaiśya female. According to Manu X. 47 and Agnipurāṇa (151. 14) his peculiar work is to attend on and guard women (in harems etc), while according to Uśanas (20–21) and Vaik. (X. 14) he is to tend goats, cows and buffaloes and to sell milk, curds, butter-milk and ghee. The Sūta-saṁhitā says that vaideha and pulkasa are the same.

Vyādha (huntsman)–mentioned by Sumantu in Aparārka p. 1176 and Hārīta (quoted by Aparārka p. 279), Āpastamba (verse) 9. 32, Yāj. II. 48.

Vrātya. According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 1, 1. 22–I. 1. 2. 10, Pār. gr. II. 5 and other sūtra works a *vrātya* is one on whom and on whose ancestors the saṁskāra of upanayana has not been performed. But in other works like Baud. Dh. S. (I. 9. 15), the word vrātya is applied to all who are born of the mixture of varṇas.

Śaka. Manu (X. 43–44) mentions Śakas along with Yavanas and others as originally kṣatriyas reduced to the state of śūdras. Vide note on Yavana (p. 92) above. They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata along with Yavana and other non-Aryan tribes. Vide Sabhā 32. 16–17, 51. 23, Udyoga (4. 15; 19. 21; 160. 103), Bhīṣma (20. 13), Droṇa (121. 13). Śaka occurs in the kambojādigaṇa (Pāṇ. IV. 1. 175). *Vide* note 200.

Śabara. An aboriginal jungle tribe like the Bhilla. In the Mahābhārata the śabaras are frequently mentioned (e. g. Anuśāsana 35. 17, Śānti 65. 13).

Śālika. According to the Sūtasaṁhitā he is the same as Māgadha.

Śūlika. According to Uśanas (42) he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a brāhmaṇa and a śūdra female and his avocation is to impale those offenders who are sentenced to be impaled. According to Vaik. (X. 13) and Sūtasaṁhitā he is the offspring of a clandestine union between a kṣatriya male and a śūdra female.

Śaikha. According to Manu X. 21 he is the same as *āvantya.*

Śailūṣa. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 51. 13, Manu IV. 214, Hārīta quoted by Aparārka p. 279 distinguish him from raṅgāvatārī and the Brahmapurāṇa (quoted by Aparārka p. 1178) defines him as one who finds out employment for naṭas[204]. Āpastamba 9. 32 (verse) speaks of him in the same breath with rajaka and

204. वृरयन्वेषी नटानां तु स तु शैलूषकः स्मृतः। ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p. 1178.

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